



They have something to say: a study of
social media use and public discourse in the
Rio de Janeiro favelas

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the award of the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Media Discourse Centre
De Montfort University
March 2019

ABSTRACT

The mainstream media portrays favelas in a negative light. This has been the case for over a century, since the very beginning of the favelas. The purpose of this research was to examine the use of digital social networks as counterpublics in the fight against this characterisation of the favela solely as a site dominated by violence. The massive entry of smartphones and the Internet into the favelas has brought significant changes in the way its residents relate to the world (Meirelles and Athayde, 2014) and especially how they interact with the mainstream media narratives about favelas' daily lives. The representation of the favela, although it has varied over the years without ever leaving aside the image of the 'dangerous classes' (Coimbra, 2001), became hegemonic as a place of crime and violence only from the 2000s (Vaz and Baiense, 2011) and, the present study proved that it remains so.

In this context, it draws attention to the way in which social networks, especially Facebook, function as an horizontal channel for the production of information, where everyone can participate, and has been effectively used as a tool in search of voice and space by these residents, in the struggle against social invisibility and the legitimization of institutionalized violence. By reflecting on these activities, this research will significantly enhance our understanding of how people can use social media to counteract the official narrative. In addition, this study offers an account of the struggles and benefits of the so-called media activism in the favelas, and an analysis of its ability to influence the mainstream media bottom to top.

KEYWORDS: favela, media activism, media discourse, favela misrepresentation, counterpublics.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to start by thanking my supervisor, Professor Stuart Price, who generously donated his time and expertise to my work. Stuart is an outstanding researcher, and I thank him not only for his academic support but also for all the opportunities he has given me, for his assistance at the most challenging times, and for working unceasingly to strengthen our research group.

Profound gratitude goes to both of my second supervisors: Dr Max Hanska and Dr Ruth Sanz-Sabido. I am thankful to Max for the time spent reading and commenting on my material, for sharing his expertise in social media research, and finally for helping me to see, at a critical time, that I had collected too much material and needed to choose what to work with in my thesis. Likewise, I am also grateful to Ruth, for sharing her methodology expertise and for making direct but constructive criticisms of my work, that allowed me to see where I was failing and kept me working to improve my research skills.

I also gratefully acknowledge the CAPES Foundation, Ministry of Education of Brazil, Brasília - DF 70040-020, for its financial support that allowed me to carry my studies at DMU. Process Number 99999.013689/2013-04.

Special mention goes to my High School friend, Dr Wanessa Ribeiro de Souza, for generously donating her time and experience to help me to organise my ideas and put the thesis structure on paper, without her input I would probably still be thinking of what to do with all my objectives.

Similar, profound gratitude goes to my dear friend, Dr Helena Mendes Constante, for the support in the difficult hours, for the exchange of academic-life experiences and for helping me to maintain my sanity with her honest and reliable friendship, full of support, encouragement and unpretentious and pleasant conversations.

Finally, but by no means least, I would like to extend thanks to my family in Brazil, especially to my mum and dad for supporting me in everything during my whole life. I

would also like to wholeheartedly thank my husband, Gustavo, for the companionship, patience and love without which I certainly would not have reached my goal. And ultimately, I would like to thank my amazing children, Benjamin and Theodoro, for the endless hours they shared my attention with books, computers and phones, the meetings they had to attend with me, and all the sincere love that kept me going no matter what. They are the light of my life and the reason I kept pushing through difficult times; I dedicate this thesis to them.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
CONTENTS	5
LIST OF TABLES	7
LIST OF FIGURES	7
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	9
INTRODUCTION	10
PART I: FAVELA AND <i>ASFALTO</i> : A CITY THAT INSISTS ON REMAINING BROKEN	17
1 URBAN GROWTH, GENTRIFICATION AND SOCIAL HYGIENE IN RIO DE JANEIRO 1850-1970	24
2 MILITARY, DICTATORSHIP AND ORGANISED CRIME: THE ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE IN THE FAVELAS	34
3 “A GOOD THIEF IS A DEAD THIEF” : POLICE AND VIOLENCE IN A CENTURY OF FAVELA	39
3.1 The Peacekeeping Police Units (UPP)	4848
4 LIFE IN THE FAVELA: IDENTITY, STIGMA, STRUGGLE AND SURVIVAL	52
5 THE ROLE OF THE PRESS IN THE DAILY REPRESENTATION OF THE CITY AND THE FAVELA	62
5.1 Police: the owner of the favela narrative?	6464
5.2 Legitimizing violence: the paths of police brutality intersect with the stereotypical representation of favelas	6666
5.3 The journalist as a foreigner: the media as an enemy of the favela?	7070
6 HOW MANY VOICES ECHO IN THE CITY?	77
6.1 New ways to make news	8282
6.2 Manda um zap: The relationship of the favela with post-internet news	8888
PART II: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND AND ANALYSIS OF EMPIRICAL MATERIALS	92
7 METHODOLOGY	93
7.1 Critical Discourse analysis as an approach	9898
7.1.1 Addressing criticism	104104
7.2 Content analysis: gathering and categorising data	106105
7.3 Virtual ethnography? – considerations of my ethnographic observation of the virtual interactions of favela residents	110110
7.4 Selecting the favelas and the media activists	114114
7.5 Selecting the newspapers	116116
7.6 Challenges in the field work and other considerations	117117
7.6.1 Being from there but not really	120120
8 THE FAVELA UNDER THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA PERSPECTIVE	122

8.1	Tales of violence: The hegemony of violence in the news about the favelas	127 127
8.2	The word is favela: which words represent the favela in the news?	140 140
8.3	Where is the favela in the newspapers?	143 143
9	THE FAVELA UNDER THE SOCIAL MEDIA PERSPECTIVE	145
9.1	Voices from Alemão	145 145
9.1.1	A Voz da Comunidade	147 147
9.1.2	Coletivo Papo Reto	157 157
9.2	Voices from Maré	166 166
9.2.1	Maré Vive	169 169
10	SHOTS IN PALMEIRINHA: THE BOY WHO FILMED HIS OWN MURDER.....	178
	PART III: FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE DATA AND CONCLUSION.....	193
11	THE OFFICIAL VOICES, THE VOICES OF THE FAVELA: STRUGGLE FOR PLURALITY	194
11.1	Official voices.....	194 194
11.2	Favela voices.....	204 204
11.3	Mobile revolution: raw footage in the epicentre of the fight	216 216
11.4	Activism for whom? Is favela media activism effective in reaching the general population outside the favelas?.....	221 221
12	CONCLUSION	232
12.1	Key findings	236 236
12.2	Originality, future work and final considerations	240 240
13	REFERENCE LIST	242
	APPENDIX 1 – MATERIAL COLLECTED FROM O GLOBO	253
	APPENDIX 2 – MATERIAL COLLECTED FROM EXTRA	271
	APPENDIX 3 – LIST OF WORDS FROM O GLOBO WORD CLOUD	289
	APPENDIX 4 – LIST OF WORDS FROM EXTRA WORD CLOUD	299
	APPENDIX 5 – MATERIAL COLLECTED FROM VOZ DA COMUNIDADE’ S PAGE ON FACEBOOK.....	308
	APPENDIX 6 – MATERIAL COLLECTED FROM COLETIVO PAPO RETO’ S PAGE ON FACEBOOK.....	343 343
	APPENDIX 7 – MATERIAL COLLECTED FROM MARÉ VIVE’ S PAGE ON FACEBOOK	378 378
	APPENDIX 8 – LIST OF WORDS FROM VOZ DA COMUNIDADE’ S WORD CLOUD.	404 404
	APPENDIX 9 – LIST OF WORDS FROM COLETIVO PAPO RETO’ S WORD CLOUD	418 418
	APPENDIX 10 – LIST OF WORDS FROM MARÉ VIVE’ S WORD CLOUD.....	440 440

List of tables

Table 1: Research question and approach.....	98
Table 2 - Categories Jan-Jun/2015 O Globo.....	129
Table 3 - Categories Jan-Jun/2015 EXTRA.....	130
Table 4: Categories Jul-Dec/2015 O Globo.....	131
Table 5: Categories Jul-Dec/2015 EXTRA.....	132
Table 6: Tone, Jan-Jun/2015.....	133
Table 7: Tone, Jul-Dec/2015.....	133
Table 8: Violence x Other categories, Jan-Jun 2015, O Globo.....	136
Table 9: Violence x Other categories, Jan-Jun 2015, EXTRA.....	137
Table 10: Violence x Other categories, Jul-Dec 2015, O Globo.....	138
Table 11: Violence x Other categories, Jul-Dec 2015, EXTRA.....	139
Table 12: Violence x other categories, 2015.....	140
Table 13: Categories, 2015 - Voz da Comunidade.....	152
Table 14: Tone, 2015 - Voz da Comunidade.....	153
Table 15: Violence x Other categories, 2015 - Voz da Comunidade.....	154
Table 16: Categories 2015, Papo Reto.....	161
Table 17: Tone, 2015 - Papo Reto.....	162
Table 18: Violence x Other categories, 2015 - Papo Reto.....	163
Table 19: Categories, 2015 - Maré Vive.....	173
Table 20: Tone, 2015 - Maré Vive.....	174
Table 21: Violence x Other categories, 2015 - Maré Vive.....	175
Table 22: What is written to what is understood.....	189
Table 23: The changes in the words used.....	190
Table 24: Mentions to the groups examined on the newspapers, 2015.....	228

List of figures

Figure 1: A pig's head (in a reference to the tenement) in a tray. Revista Ilustrada, 1893.....	27
Figure 2: Caricature of Oswaldo Cruz cleaning the Morro da Favella. O Malho, n.247, 06/08/1907.	31
Figure 3: Post on Facebook about the Police breaking doors and raiding homes in the Complexo da Maré.....	50
Figure 4: O Malho, 1940, edition 0116 (1) portrays the favela resident as a “rascal” who has “horror to work”.....	58
Figure 5: A visit to the Morro da Favella: 1,500 homeless people, a picture of horror and miseries. Jornal do Brasil, 12/07/1907.	63
Figure 6: A screen shot of a Facebook post from the Witness Organisation teaching how to use a mobile to filme police violence in the favelas.....	82
Figure 7 - G1 on 17/03/2015.....	125
Figure 8 - G1 on 27/03/2015.....	125
Figure 9 - Categories Jan-Jun/2015 O Globo chart.....	129

Figure 10 - Categories Jan-Jun/2015 EXTRA	130
Figure 11: Categories Jul-Dec/2015 O Globo.....	131
Figure 12: Categories Jul-Dec/2015 EXTRA	132
Figure 13: Tone, O Globo 2015	134
Figure 14: Tone, EXTRA 2015.....	134
Figure 15: Tone, comparative 2015	135
Figure 16: Violence x Other categories, Jan-Jun 2015, O Globo	136
Figure 17: Violence x Other categories, Jan-Jun 2015, EXTRA.....	137
Figure 18: Violence x Other categories, Jul-Dec 2015, O Globo	138
Figure 19: Violence x Other categories, Jul-Dec 2015, EXTRA.....	139
Figure 20: Violence x other categories 2015	140
Figure 21: O Globo 2015 headlines word cloud	142
Figure 22: EXTRA 2015 headlines word cloud.....	143
Figure 23: O Globo sections: Rio, Opinion, Second section, Cover, Society, Second page, Country, Rio show, Good chance, Economy, World.	144
Figure 24: Extra sections: General, Cover, Sports, Extra session, Life made, Earn more and Extra fun.	144
Figure 25: Complexo do Alemão map	145
Figure 26: Complexo do Alemão, photo by Matias Maxx	146
Figure 27: Voz da Comunidade on Facebook.....	147
Figure 28: Voz da Comunidade on Twitter.....	148
Figure 29: Categories Jan-Jun/2015 - Voz da Comunidade.....	151
Figure 30: Categories Jul-Dec/2015 - Voz da Comunidade	151
Figure 31: Tone, 2015 - Voz da Comunidade.....	153
Figure 32: Violence x other categories, Jan-Jun/2015 - Voz da comunidade.....	154
Figure 33: Violence x Other categories, Jul-Dec 2015 - Voz da comunidade.....	154
Figure 34: Voz da Comunidade 2015 word cloud	155
Figure 35: Media use, 2015 - Voz da Comunidade	156
Figure 36: Coletivo Papo Reto on Facebook	157
Figure 37: Coletivo Papo Reto on Facebook; “Why does the State only dialogue with the favela people through the police?”	158
Figure 38: Categories Jan-Jun/2015 - Papo Reto.....	160
Figure 39: Categories Jul-Dec/2015 - Papo Reto.....	160
Figure 40: Tone, 2015 - Papo Reto	162
Figure 41: Violence x Other categories Jan-Jul/2015 - Papo Reto	163
Figure 42: Violence x Other categories, Jul-Dec/2015, Papo Reto	163
Figure 43: Coletivo Papo Reto word cloud 2015.....	164
Figure 44: Media use, 2015 - Papo Reto.....	165
Figure 45: Maré location in the city	166
Figure 46: the sixteen favelas.....	167
Figure 47: Stilt houses in Maré.....	168
Figure 48: Maré Vive on Facebook	169
Figure 49: Maré Vive on Facebook - “Shots at Pinheiro”	170
Figure 50: Categories Jan-Jun/2015 - Maré Vive	172
Figure 51: Categories Jul-Dec/2015 - Maré Vive	172
Figure 52: Tone, 2015 - Maré Vive	174
Figure 53: Violence x Other categories, Jan-Jun/2015 - Maré Vive.....	175

Figure 54: Violence x Other categories, Jul-Dec/2015 - Maré Vive	175
Figure 55: Maré Vive word cloud 2015	176
Figure 56: Media usage 2015 - Maré Vive	177
Figure 57: Maré Vive post on Facebook about the footage	182
Figure 58: The abovementioned report in the newspaper O Dia	184
Figure 59: El País article from 27/02/2015	185
Figure 60: EXTRA article from 02/03/2015	186
Figure 61: Comments on the article about the incident	187
Figure 62: Favela's media representation timeline	198
Figure 63: Violence x other categories - O Globo x EXTRA, 2015.....	199
Figure 64: Violence x Other categories, 2015	209
Figure 65: Tone, 2015 - comparative	210
Figure 66: Content type (as previously explained in page x), 2015 – comparative.....	212
Figure 67: Papo Reto on Facebook on 26/03/2015: “The police cannot mediate a conflict of which it is part!”	213
Figure 68: Violence x Other categories, 2015 - Social Media.....	214
Figure 69: WITNESS Guide on how to film police violence in the favelas, using mobile phones	217
Figure 70: “Fear is learned early on” says EXTRA's headline	229
Figure 71: The online version included a print screen of the post on Twitter	230

List of abbreviations

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

SFL: Systemic Functional Linguistics

IBGE: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística)

UPP: Pacifying Police Unit (Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora)

PM: Military Police (Polícia Militar)

BPM: Military Police Battalion (Batalhão de Polícia Militar)

CORE: Coordination of Special Assets (Coordenadoria de Recursos Especiais, the tactical unit of the civil Police)

BOPE: Battalion of Special Police Operations (Batalhão de Operações Policiais Especiais, the tactical unit of the Military Police)

INTRODUCTION

This study was conducted to investigate the forms of representation and the discourse associated with the favelas, and the use of social media in the fight against the predominant narrative of the favela as a place solely characterised by violence. This process relates not only to the struggle against misrepresentation but also to the occupation of spaces from which favela residents have traditionally been excluded. The goal is to ascertain the relationship between these processes of social resistance through activism and mainstream media. In this way, this study can contribute to the debate about the role of journalism in emphasizing the 'criminal' culture of the favelas and the construction of its residents citizenship, and can also reflect on the changes and impacts of the recent massive entry on the internet and social networks through the popularization of the mobile phone in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro.

Thus, the aim of this research is to understand, through comparative analysis of the forms of representation and discourse, the role of social media in the process of empowering people living in violent favelas, and supposedly giving voice to these residents not only to tell their version of brutal events, often contesting the official version presented by the press, but also to influence the official narrative and draw attention to their cultural expressions and way of life, besides asking for more attention from the State.

According to Zimmerman (2000), empowerment is “a theoretical model for understanding the process and consequences of efforts to exert control and influence over decisions that affect one's life” (*Ibid*, p43) and “empowering processes are ones in which attempts to gain control, obtain needed resources, and critically understand one's social environment are fundamental” (*Ibid*, p46). Thus, in this thesis 'empowerment' is considered of every process that helps individuals to gain more control in their

communities, becoming decision-makers, exercising competence and leadership and taking on the narrative of their own lives.

The first hypothesis presented here is that access to social media allows favela residents to express themselves and gain access to horizontal spaces of content production, where everyone can participate. This enables the inhabitant of the favela to give voice to their concerns, contributing to the appreciation of their culture, and helping to promote their rights as individuals and citizens.

According to research (Andreino, 2004; Capriglione, 2015; Vaz and Baiense, 2011; Rifiotis, 1999) that will be discussed in Part I of this thesis, the mainstream media coverage helps to emphasise the existing crime in the favelas and contributes to the creation of a social stigma that causes social, financial and emotional consequences to the residents. Additionally, it helps to legitimise violent repression against its people. These same researches pointed out that the absence of a communication vehicle that genuinely meets the interests of society hampers and often impedes the debate about the social, cultural and political demands of the favelas. Nevertheless, by studying the current literature there was still the need not only to look into what has changed with the massive entry of smartphones and mobile internet and the adhesion of favela residents to social networks, through recent research analysing this phenomenon and discussed in Part I, but also to examine how this changes interfere with the quality of local public discussion, brought into light in the present research through the analysis of the activity of the inhabitants in the social networks.

Throughout Part II, the review of the material collected was presented. For this research, the work was divided into three phases. In the first phase, an extensive archival research was undertaken aiming to look into the first accounts on the favelas back in the end of the 19th Century, which involved a detailed inspection of dozens of documents in the form of letters, poetry, music and newspapers. In the second phase, another archival research was conducted aiming to look into the newspapers published in 2015, analysing one by one all editions of the two papers selected for this study. The third phase occurred in parallel to the first two, with the daily collection, analysis and

categorisation of all material posted during the year of 2015 on the social networks of the groups of activists selected. These three phases of research culminated in a comparative analysis of the representation of the favelas in the mainstream media and in social networks (ran by residents) and, more broadly, in a reflection on the role of social networks in the residents efforts to exert control and to take to itself the narrative about the favelas. The results and the discussion of the mentioned material analysis were presented in Part III.

a) Research question and objectives

Research question:

What is the role of social networks and media activism in giving voice to the residents of the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, and what is the relationship between social media use and the mainstream media narrative about the favela?

Objectives:

Due to the need to understand the media coverage of the favelas to study the construction of the current 'mode' of reporting it, the first objective of the research is to i): draw an analytical historical line of the press coverage of the favelas from its inception to the present day, in order to visualise the triggering of the current scenario and understand the factors that have influenced and contributed to the construction of the abovementioned way of reporting the favelas.

With this historical timeline in mind, I aimed to ii) examine and understand the differences between the discourse used by the mainstream media to report the life in the favelas and the narratives of residents, iii) characterizing the relationship between them and the traditional press and iv) reflecting on the empowerment generated by social networks in these communities and how it contributes to the deconstruction of a stereotypical image of the favelas and the enhancement of the favela culture and its people.

Finally, but by no means least important, I also aimed to v) study how the negative discourse used by mainstream media has contributed to the criminalisation process of the favelas and helps to legitimise violent repression against its residents.

b) Where did it all begin?

Before advancing further, it is necessary to contextualise the role of these spaces and its social interactions in my development as a researcher, in order to address my own biased perception of the favela. Living in the suburbs and favelas of Rio de Janeiro is not easy. I was born and raised in Vigário Geral, the poor and violent neighbourhood that hosts the favela of the same name. Vigário Geral is known as the favela of the slaughter (Araujo, 2008) that, in 1993, left 21 dead, and is the one that Ventura visited to write the book *Cidade Partida* (1994). This favela aroused my curiosity at a young age, and both fascinated me (for its plurality and diversity) and frightened me (through fear of the unknown).

The neighbourhood of Vigário Geral is crossed by a walled railroad, with the favela on one side of the wall and the 'asphalt' on the other, connected by a footbridge. An obvious materialisation of the "broken city" (Ventura, 1994) concept. My earliest memories of the favela are from when I was only seven and eight years old. The first of these memories came from 1993, the year of the mass killing that would make the favela and its neighbourhood famous (Araujo, 2008), and would make people's eyes widen every time I said where I lived. It was a few days after my birthday, and I remember riding my bike in the yard while my mother peered down the street from the metal gate of my house. Curious, I asked her what she was looking at, when she replied, horrified: "They killed a lot of people in the favela, they are lining up the bodies in the square! There is no school today; you are not leaving this house". The killing (Coimbra, 2001), which took place on 29 August 1993, and was carried out by a group of police officers, left 21 dead, none of whom had any involvement with criminal activities. The favela and Vigário Geral neighbourhood would be marked forever by the event.

At the beginning of the following year, I was a scholarship student at one of the few private schools in the neighbourhood, which traditionally offered scholarships, especially for favela dwellers. Waiting for the gates to open for our entrance, I introduced myself to another student. When I asked him where he lived, he answered only 'inside': inside the favela, inside the 'confrontation zone'. Inside, where the police came hooded and had recently killed 21 innocent people (Araujo, 2008). At that point, I knew only what my mother repeated and what I saw on TV: that the favela was dangerous, and that I should not go there. However, I remember the meeting with the boy from the favela for a more particular reason — the fact that he was white, with almost blonde hair, and green eyes. I never forgot that, at eight years of age, the first thing I thought about the boy standing in front of me, was that “he is white, he does not look like a favela dweller!”

Twenty-five years later, this is an impression that I struggle every day to deconstruct with information and empathy, but that I know to be part of the popular imaginary of every non-favela resident in Brazil. The process of deconstruction of this criminalised vision of the favela led me to the crucial question that would later give rise to the desire to carry out this research: if so much is talked about the favelas (that they are violent, dangerous places of crime and barbarism) by non-favela residents, why are so few voices heard from the favelas?

During the military occupation of the Complexo do Alemão (a complex of favelas in Rio de Janeiro) in 2010 (Abreu, 2013), I was struck by how civil society discussions were mainly about the impacts of UPPs on city life, but little was said about the implications for the favela. Again, I was bothered by the absence of voices coming from the favelas, the absence of first-person narratives other than the already well-known paradigms of fear. Where were the locals and what had they to say? Why did not they talk to the media?

I began to catch a glimpse of the answer to these questions as I saw these same residents hoisting 'flags' made of white sheets. White flags calling for peace. Residents of Complexo do Alemão, although the most affected by everything that was happening at

that time, were ignored by the media and were hoisting white 'flags' for peace. It was not they who 'did not speak to the media', but the media that did not listen to them. However, they found a way to make themselves heard; still in silence, they found a voice through sheets hanging from the windows. Based on these reflections, I began to develop the research project that culminated in this thesis.

It was also during this same event that I — and much of the city — became aware of the *Voz da Comunidade* (a community journal). Ironically the name of the newspaper talked to the issues that bothered me for years. There it was, finally, the 'Voice of the Community'. Describing everything in real time on Twitter, creating, from the window of their homes, a narrative that no journalist was capable of producing. At last, I could hear the voices of the favela, and these voices spoke of pain and fear, of prejudice, violence and segregation. The voices that came from the favelas shouted, but after the frenzy caused by the mega-operation of the Complexo do Alemão occupation, little were they heard again.

The whole event, however, further aroused my curiosity about issues related to the voice and empowerment of the favela population in Rio de Janeiro. During the following years, I began to follow more closely the initiatives of favela residents in social networks and realised that they had the potential to change the scenario and, perhaps, to be a fundamental element in the conquest of space and representation.

c) Preliminary considerations:

The Brazilian favelas have unique characteristics and, for this reason, it is difficult to translate the term 'favela'. Using 'slums' for example seems to be problematic since the word carries strong connotations of misery and even depravity. Shantytowns allude to wooden shacks, which is quite imprecise these days where most favelas present themselves as an intricate network of constructions, from the simplest, of wood or clay, to small buildings — entirely different from the image that inhabits the popular imagination about the favelas abroad. Squatters settlement refers to something illegal¹.

¹ More on popular translations to the word favela: <http://rioonwatch.org.br/?p=15401>

All these terms reinforce old stigmas that worsen the increasing difficulties faced by favela residents, contributing to discrimination, abuse and violence against this population. The term 'community' is also not unanimous among residents; some defend that community refers to 'needy', generalises the definition, besides not being authentic. 'Favela' on the other hand, has a connection with the roots, with its emergence itself, and, therefore, is linked to the identity and culture of the favela people (Oliveira, 2014, p44). For this reason, I decided to join the researchers that defend it is best to call them favelas, not using translations or alternative terms that soften the meaning of what it is; even though this may result in repetition in the text.

The 'Voz da Comunidade' (Voice of the Community) changed its name in 2017, becoming 'Voz das Comunidades' (the Voice of the Communities) to reflect the new phase of the group, now operating in multiple favelas (more information about this change will be presented in chapter 9). The collection of materials and much of the analysis present in this research, however, occurred prior to the name change and I, therefore, decided to continue referring to the group as Voz da Comunidade.

All texts in Portuguese and Spanish have been freely translated into English by me.

PART I: Favela and *asfalto*: a city that insists on remaining broken

Favela and *asfalto*: a city that insists on remaining broken

“Half an hour from the South Zone, thirty kilometres from the city centre, I was entering another world. The arrival to this level favela requires an unexpected effort: you must first go up and down 45 steps. A walkway catches the visitor on the asphalt side and drives him nine feet above the railroad track, depositing it on the other side, in a small lane that functions as an entrance hall. The two high walls that cut the neighbourhood in half, isolating the train line, also serve to give the impression that the population lives in confinement.” (Ventura, 1994, p55)

To speak of favela is to speak of the history of Brazil (Zaluar and Alvito, 2006, p7). Having its origins embedded in the history of the major Brazilian cities, it is impossible to reflect on the social and urban development of Brazil without mentioning favelas. In order to understand the current scenario of the favelas and their residents, it is necessary to delve into their history and the history of the city itself, as this will provide us with the necessary information to understand the delicate dynamics of the alleys of Rio de Janeiro favelas and also among its residents, Government agents, police forces and the media.

According to Valladares (2005), the representation of the favelas is still a legacy of the impressions of journalists, writers and intellectuals of the early twentieth century. For her:

“Widely divulged at that time, their writings allowed the development of a collective imaginary about the microcosm of the favela and its residents, while opposing favela and city.” (Valladares, 2005, p28)

It then goes back to that same period the beginning of the antagonisms that would transform Rio de Janeiro into a “broken city” (Ventura, 1994) —Broken, as in divided: Ventura argues in his homonymous work that Rio de Janeiro is a broken city, a term used to consolidate the sociological study conducted by him that defends the favelas and urbanized areas of middle and upper class (o *asfalto*² – asphalt in Portuguese) are antagonistic, the former being a world apart from the latter, an “other” city. In his work, he emphasises the considerable gap between the populations of these different areas, not only under the economic prism, but also within social relations. In the introduction to the book that coined the term, the journalist Arnaldo Jabor highlights the process of urbanization and modernization of the city, that since the beginning of the century has adopted as a measure the systematic expulsion of the poorest population, considered second-class citizens, to the hills and peripheries, which he characterizes as a “social apartheid”:

“In fact, during this century (...) the option was always for the separation, if not the simple segregation. The city was civilised and modernised by expelling its second-class citizens to the hills and outskirts. The result of this policy was a broken city. Putting it together may be a task for the next century, but we must begin right now - even because the policy of exclusion has been a disaster. Not only moral and humanitarian, but also from the effectiveness point of view. Its main product, the social apartheid, risks of having the fate that had racial apartheid elsewhere.” (Ventura, 1994, p13)

There are many criticisms of the concept of a broken city. One of the lines of thinking is that the city is, in fact, integrated and the main proof of that is that the *asfalto* would collapse without the workforce of favela residents (Alves and Evanson, 2011, p17). It is

² Term used to designate areas outside the favela; the formal spaces of housing of the city.

undeniable that there is an intrinsic mesh of interactions between the favela and the 'asfalto' — the inhabitants of the favelas attend other spaces, they work outside the favela, and, of course, they co-exist in spaces with the rest of the city residents. However, is this integration between employer-employee, master-servant, sufficient for us to disregard the fact that for a large part of the population the inhabitants of the favelas should not attend the affluent zones of the city for leisure purposes, for example? We will discuss in chapter 4 how hard it is for a favela resident to make friends outside the favela, to overcome the prejudice attached to him or her because of the place he or she lives. We will reflect in chapter 3 how the concept of "the other" helps to legitimate the Police brutality in the favelas. The city, therefore, in my opinion, remains broken, even if plural. It remains broken with every shout of "kill them!"³ from the windows of the Copacabana apartments to young favela dwellers during another mass robbery in the streets bellow. It remains broken in every mobilisation to prohibit and combat, with the use of Police force, the *rolêzinhos*⁴. It remains broken every time a young favela resident is followed by the security inside the stores of the malls. The relations between favela and asfalto may have been sufficient to build a vibrant and plural cultural network, but they were not sufficient to reduce the gap generated by more than a century of prejudice and segregation, dating back to the times of slavery and inheriting from that time the division of the society. Neder (1997) argues that this

³ A video, recorded by a woman from the window of an apartment in Copacabana, circulated on social networks in January 2017, showing young people depredating a bus from the 474 line, which connects in the North to the South zone of the city. The woman's comments were shocking:

"They're getting off the bus like an ant hill. We have no authority, no law, no nothing! These people have to die. These people are not worth anything, look at this...there's a woman, child, everything...a bunch of bastards! These bastards do not have to come here. We have to leave them there in the suburbs. They do not even deserve to come to the beach. These bastards come and spoil our neighbourhood."

Although I still have the video that, at the time, I downloaded to my computer, the YouTube link where it was is no longer working and I could not find it without cuts again. The main TV outlets aired the video, but left the comments out, only leaving the part when she's asking for the Police to come. Here is an analysis by the teacher Miriam Krenzinger, with the mentioned monologue transcribed:

<http://www.justificando.com/2017/01/16/474-linha-tenue/>

⁴ Meetings organised through the social networks of young people from the peripheries and favelas in the high-end malls of the city.

division of classes in the urban space of Rio de Janeiro takes place through a binary process of identification of the modern, new city, within European standards, as civilization and everything that is not within these standards - the *quilombos*⁵, the peripheries, the favelas, the irregular occupations - as barbarism. The favela, as heir to the *quilombo*, is then synonymous with disorder and barbarism and, consequently, its inhabitants are barbarians. This reflection is critical because it helps to understand the broken city as a phenomenon much anterior to the one defended by the author of the term and also to give dimension to the depth of the stigma of violence and barbarism so early associated with the favelas and still rooted in the popular imaginary.

The abovementioned process of dividing the city between rich and poor is not exclusive to Rio de Janeiro. Housing crises, a common feature of developing cities (Castells, 1977, p146), have hit other major cities around the world throughout history. One example is Barcelona, which experienced an intense housing crisis after 1880 when a large mass of unqualified workers was attracted to the city, that was undergoing a rapid development process, peaking in 1920 when it received the most significant wave of immigrants from its history, coming from other regions of Spain. But unlike Rio, where the mass of poor and homeless workers sought out the hills and outskirts to build their homes, most of the land in Barcelona was private, and landowners began to explore the need for workers' housing by building precarious shacks and renting, what became known as *barraquisme* (Ealham, 2005). This situation revealed a divided Barcelona, where the poorest did not have access to the most basic amenities such as a kitchen and a bathroom and were subject to rapid inflation in the rentals, while the laws that protected them were rarely adopted or fulfilled - a phenomenon very similar to what happened (and still happens) in the favelas of Rio. In Barcelona, the rapid growth of the proletarian neighbourhoods led the middle class and the city's elite to migrate to other regions, while in Rio de Janeiro the process was the opposite, with the poor population being expelled from the wealthy area and relocated in the distant peripheries. Nevertheless, the effect (a broken city) was the same as the one observed here:

“Indeed, in social terms a process of urban bifurcation was at work, according to

⁵ Angolan term used to designate hidden villages formed by escaped slaves.

which class divisions became inscribed in space. And so, by the end of the 1920s, the city was effectively divided in two, a trend epitomised by the stark polarities offered by the opulence and wealth of bourgeois districts and the squalor and poverty of the *barracas*, the *casas baratas* and proletarianised *barris* like the Raval, spaces in which the prosperity promoted by the World Exhibitions was barely felt. (...) The general process towards urban segregation was nevertheless irreversible: capitalists and proletarians were increasingly concentrated in distinct neighbourhoods as city space became more and more divided.” (Ealham, 2005, p.8)

Going back to the case of Rio de Janeiro, it is not difficult to conclude that the relations between the poorest strata of the society with the State and the Police have not changed so much in the last century — in 1855, for example, there were plans to “install iron gates in the tenements of the cities, in order to lock up, together with the inhabitants of the tenements, the 'problems' allegedly created by these people” (Terra and Carvalho, 2015, p41). During the following decades, several attempts were made to extinguish or remove the favelas, with removalist policies peaking in the 1960s (Meirelles and Athayde, 2014, p46). More recently, a few weeks before the 2016 Olympics in the city, the City Hall covered the acoustic panels that separate the Maré complex of favelas from the Red Line, an expressway that connects the Antônio Carlos Jobim International Airport to the South Zone. The measure was defended by the city hall as a project to embellish the city for the Olympics⁶, which suggests that if the favelas cannot be removed, attempts are made to hide them. Two years earlier, in 2014, an even worse idea was advanced: a military police commander suggested building concrete walls to separate the favela from the expressway as a measure to reduce violence.⁷ Just as in 1855, it seems that for the rulers the simplest solution is to isolate, separate the

⁶ For a news report on the City Hall explanation: <http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/olimpiadas/rio2016/noticia/2016/07/muro-que-separa-linha-vermelha-de-favela-ganha-paineis-da-olimpiada.html>

⁷ For a news report on the concrete walls suggestion: <https://oglobo.globo.com/rio/comandante-de-policiamento-sugere-botar-placas-de-concreto-na-linha-vermelha-contra-assaltos-14875505>

inhabitants of the favelas from the rest of the city and hope that the problems that they believe are related only to that population stay there. Such measures of segregation so common in the daily life of Rio show the separation and exclusion that have always existed since the first favelas began and again seem to reinforce the concept of a broken city.

Therefore, in reflecting on the term today, more than 20 years after its publication, it is still possible to argue that Rio de Janeiro is a broken city and that favelas are, in fact, a world apart from the rest of the town, an area into which the state does not reach (except through the arm of the police), and the mainstream media does not hear the voices of those who live there. This notion of a secluded city, of the favelas like another city, has been giving force to popular appeals of violence to deal with the favelas “problem” (Valladares, 2005) for decades, as Ventura himself describes:

“The temptation of the final solution, already observed in other moments, with the radical removal of the favelas and the liquidation of the poor, resurged recurrently. If the threat came from the ‘dangerous classes’, from the ‘other’ city, why not pull them away by force, confinement or extermination?”
(Ventura, 1994, p89)

1 Urban growth, gentrification and social hygiene in Rio de Janeiro 1850-1970

Today, in reality, where is freedom?
Where is that which nobody has seen? (...)
Free of the plantation's whip
Imprisoned in the misery of the favela.
(100 anos de liberdade: realidade ou ilusão (song), Mangueira)

The history of the favelas is intrinsically linked to the history of urban development in postcolonial Brazil. We find its roots strongly intertwined with the abolition of slavery and the situation of the newly freed blacks and also with the migratory movements in search of employment and fleeing from the hunger that plagued the most distant regions of the financial capital of the country. This chapter aims to address the emergence of favelas from their myth of origin to the present day, addressing the transformations suffered during more than a century of history and the lives of the residents of these places and their relations with the other territories of the city. The antagonism between the terms “favela” and “asfalto”, as well as Ventura's concept of a broken city will guide this reflection.

In *Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro* (1997), Abreu explains that from the second half of the nineteenth century the city of Rio de Janeiro has undergone an urban transformation process due to the decline of coffee production in the Vale do Paraíba and the abolition of slavery, which generated a massive flow of former slaves and immigrants attracted to the central area of the then capital of the country, at the beginning of the process of industrialisation. This large influx of people migrating to the

central region of the city gave rise to the problem of housing, which would later see its culmination with the demolition of important tenements and the emergence of the first population clusters today known as favelas.

Currently, there are over 11 million Brazilians living in favelas, the equivalent to 6% of the population - In São Paulo, the largest city in the country, 20% of the population lives in favelas, followed by Rio de Janeiro, where the favelas are home to 19% of the population (IBGE, 2010). The inhabitants of these areas face shortages of essential public services such as sanitation, primary health care and garbage collection, and also are not guaranteed the forms of public safety that should be the basic right of citizens, in the contrary, they live in a constant situation of fear and life endangerment. But if today they are considered territories of fear and violence (Vaz and Baiense, 2011), favelas have already been seen as “rural territory in the city” (Valladares, 2005, p23), a health problem and a pocket of extreme poverty (Zaluar and Alvito, 2006) and also as the “blot on the landscape” (Vaz and Baiense, 2011). The next paragraphs aim to discuss the emergence and growth of favelas, reflecting on the first decades of their existence, the perception of society and consequently the public policies adopted to deal with their growth.

Due to its political and cultural importance, Rio de Janeiro, the Capital of the country for 250 years (although it has experienced a decline in relevance in the present times), is still the starting point when it comes to discuss urban development and favela development in Brazil. In 1897, the city, which experienced several “outbreaks of industrialisation in the mid-nineteenth century” (Abreu, 1997, p54) and accumulated the functions of the political and economic centre of the country, witnessed the birth of the first conglomerates, including the one that gave rise to the myth of the emergence of the favela in Brazil.

In the years leading up to this event, the need to provide abundant and cheap labour to the rapidly growing industries attracted hordes of workers from the poorer regions of the country. The recent liberation of slaves had also thrown hundreds of people without jobs, possessions or shelter into the streets (Alencastro, 2000). This working class that

reached the capital in search of employment suffered mobility problems that forced them to live near the workplace. Without being able to pay the high prices of the regular houses in the area, an affluent zone of the city at the time, these workers crowded in tenements, resulting in the uncontrolled growth of this type of housing that housed as much as 50% of the population of Rio de Janeiro between 1850 and 1870 (Campos, 2004, p53). Extreme poverty and unsanitary conditions were striking features of these tenements, according to Abreu (1997, p41):

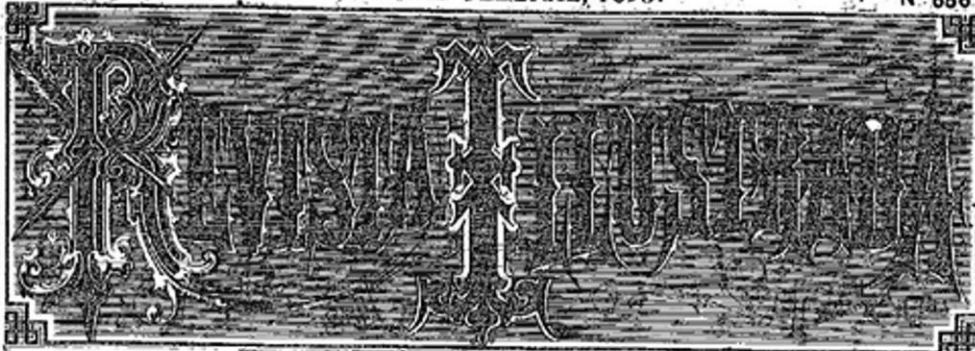
“now the headquarters of urban modernity, the city centre, paradoxically, also remained the place of residence of the poorest townspeople. These, without any power of mobility, depended on a central location (...) to survive (...). The solution was the tenement, a collective but unhealthy housing option, which became the favoured place for the outbreak of yellow fever epidemics.”

The vast stream of unskilled hungry workers who continued to arrive in the city combined with the large number of newly released homeless slaves (after the signing of the *Golden Law* in 1888), culminated in a deep housing crisis. Although common in developing cities (Castells, 1977, p146), this influx prompted great resistance among the *carioca*⁸ elite, who did not wish to inhabit the central region with the most impoverished population: this attitude made the tenements the target of a “war”. These tenements, considered at the end of the nineteenth century as the “locus of poverty”, were perceived as a space not only for poverty and disease, but also shelter for crooks and vagabonds (Valladares, 2005, p24).

In the late nineteenth century, the intense pressure exerted by the upper classes resulted in the installation of a hygienist ideology, one that prohibited the construction of new tenements and led to the demolition of the tenement “Cabeça de Porco” (Pig’s head) in 1893, displacing about two thousand people. In that year:

⁸ Relative to the city of Rio de Janeiro, or what is its natural or inhabitant.

“(the mayor) led (...) a vigorous assault on the social housing, at a time when the city contained nearly six hundred tenements, housing about a quarter of the resident population” (Meirelles and Athayde, 2014, p43).



CAPITAL

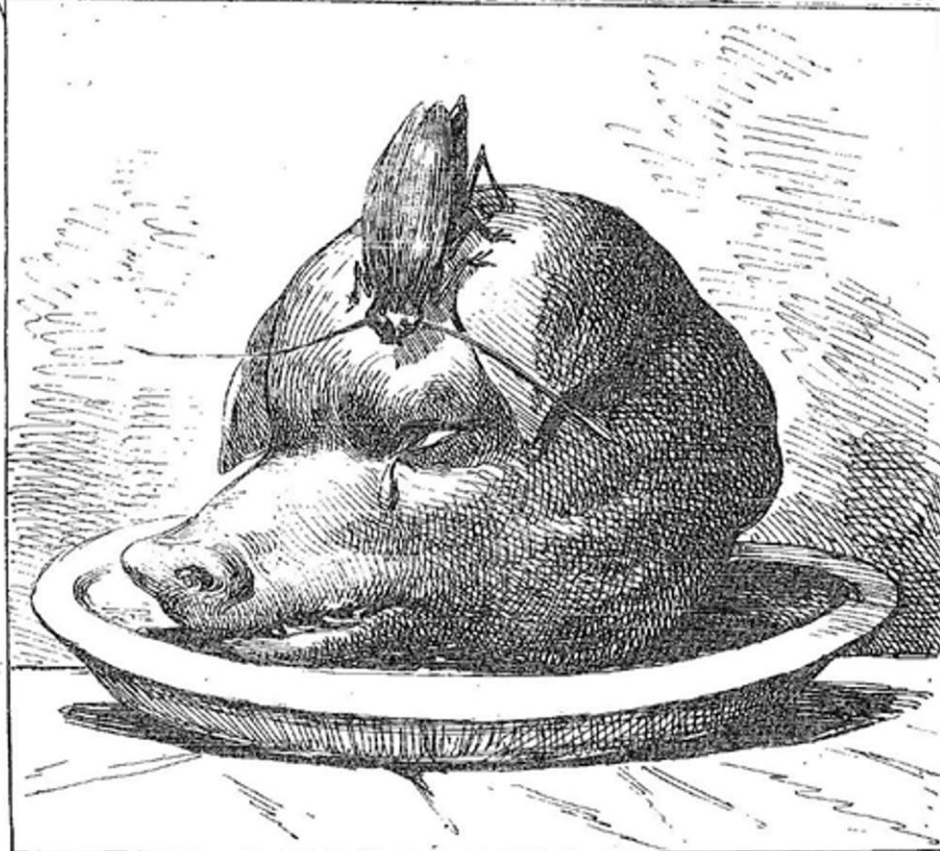
ANNO 181000
SEMESTRE 91000
TRIMESTRE 51000

PUBLICADA POR ANGELO AGOSTINI.

A correspondência e reclamações devem ser dirigidas
A RUA DE GONÇALVES DIAS, N° 50, SOBRADO.

ESTADOS

ANNO 201000
SEMESTRE 111000
AVULSO 11000

*Cabeça de porco*

*Era de ferro a cabeça,
De tal poder infinito
Que, se bem nos pareça,
Devia ser de granito.*

*No seu bojo secular
De forças devastadoras,
Viviam sempre a bailar,
Punkas e melgalladoras.*

*Por isso vivem tranquilla
Dos poderes temerosos,
Como um leão cão de fila
Cumilhando poderosos.*

*Mas eis que um dia a barata,
Deo-lhe na telha almagat-a,
E assim foi, sem palmaria,
Roendo, ali devorad-a.*

Figure 1: A pig's head (in a reference to the tenement) in a tray. Revista Illustrada, 1893.

The demolition of the Cabeça de Porco symbolized the demolition of everything that was to be “extirpated” from the city, as it gathered all the attributes that clashed with the idea of urbanity imagined by those in charge of “thinking the city” (Paula, 2003, p4). Thus, it became a starting point for the social stratification of the city that would later be referred to as the “broken city” (Ventura, 1994):

“The Mayor (...) undertook a real war on the tenements, including the famous Cabeça de Porco, for whose destruction it was necessary to plan a whole police-military scheme. It then began a process of direct intervention by the State on the central area of the city, which would intensify significantly from the beginning of the century, and which would be responsible for increasing the social stratification of the city” (Abreu, 1997, p50).

The poorest citizens, now homeless after the demolition of the tenements, did not have the option of moving away from the city centre and its employment opportunities, and sought new ways of settling next to it. In addition to an already extensive population of poor people, soldiers returning from the Canudos War in 1897 expected to receive financial compensation for the victory, which did not happen, leaving those same soldiers vulnerable and homeless. These two groups (the homeless from the demolished tenements and the former combatants of Canudos) gave rise to the agglomerate that later would be recognized as the first favela of the country, known as “Morro da Favela”, a reference to a plant in the region where the soldiers of Canudos were entrenched as they waited for a battle to commence. Similar agglomerations had existed before, like Morro do Castelo and Morro de Santo Antônio, highlighting the housing crisis in the capital at that time (Meirelles and Athayde, 2014). In the following years, Morro da Favela would lend its name to other agglomerates that would be known only as “favela”, referring to the type of dwelling.

Already in the early years of the twentieth century, Rio de Janeiro was known for its violence, open sewers, licentiousness, unhealthy housing and epidemic diseases. In this context, the desire for modernisation and the need to consolidate the city as a centre of production and accumulation of capital led to a radical redevelopment project, promoted

by Mayor Pereira Passos (who was in office from 1902 to 1906). Pereira Passos began his works to widen streets, to pave, to build a sewage system, besides works of embellishment following European standards and the construction of sumptuous buildings, like the Theatro Municipal do Rio de Janeiro. According to Abreu (1997), such urban changes also caused major waves of displaced people who were heading to the favelas in search of housing, contributing to its population growth and its consolidation as the best option for accomodating the poorest strata of the society. The construction of one of the city's main avenue, for example – the Avenida Central, now called Rio Branco – was responsible for the demolition of about three thousand homes:

“The destruction of a large number of tenements made the favelas the only alternative left to the poor people who needed to reside near their place of employment. And this population, paradoxically, never ceased to grow, once they were attracted to the city by the industrial development and the jobs in the construction area” (Abreu, 1997, p67).

It is important to emphasise again that this early period of slum growth coincided with the signing of the Lei Áurea in 1888, which abolished slavery in the country. In the years following the signing of the law, Rio de Janeiro received a massive influx of former slaves seeking job opportunities. These first settled in the tenements and later in the slums. The relationship between these former black slaves with poverty and the growth of the favelas becomes important, since today the black population in Brazil, although a majority (50.7%, Census IBGE 2010), suffers from prejudice and forms a large part of the poor population in the country. In the Brazilian favelas, 67% of the residents are black (Meirelles and Athayde, 2014):

“If today 67% of slum inhabitants are black, it is certain that they are part of a long line of people excluded from the economic system and are the victims both of exploitation that persisted through four centuries, and of a contempt that ran through the next hundred years. To understand the emergence of the slums, it is important to remember that the human brother from Africa was, for most of Brazil's history, considered a 'thing', a tool or asset, not a person, and even less a

citizen. Until today part of the national elite scandalously rejects any project of compensation or affirmative action directed at the descendants of slaves” (Meirelles and Athayde, 2014, p42).

The favela then thrived in a scenario of constant change, “in the environment of impermanence, under the winds of urban changes engendered to make Rio de Janeiro the postcard of Brazil” (Meirelles and Athayde, 2011, p45). Even with unsanitary conditions, the slums attracted more and more people who could not find any other option of viable housing next to the centre. According to Lessa (2005):

“in the former *quilombos*, tenements and favelas, the search for proximity to the subsistence market and the reduction of travel time, prevailed at the expense of space and sanitation” (2005, p291)

The years that followed were of growth of the city and also of the favelas and, consequently, the antagonisms between the city (the ‘asphalt’) and the favela intensified, giving rise to the public clamour, especially of the intellectual class and the elite, for efficient measures to deal with the “problem” (Valladares, 2005) of the favela.



Figure 2: Caricature of Oswaldo Cruz cleaning the Morro da Favela. O Malho, n.247, 06/08/1907.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the debate about what to do about the favela intensified culminating in removals, evictions and the remodeling of degraded areas of the city. Without actually considering what to do with the favela population, the debate was focused on measures to embellish the city and eliminate the ugliness and filth represented by the favelas:

“What to do with the favela? Debate established since the beginning of the century, which in the 1920s triggered the first big campaign of denunciation against the “leprosy of esthetic” (Pimenta, 1926), resumed in the 1930s through the Agache Plan for remodelling and beautification of the city of Rio.”
(Valladares, 2005, p36)

In the 1940s, with the industrialization process, the peak of the explosive growth of slums was reached, which lasted until the 1970s, when the strong economic growth in Brazil during the military dictatorship generated a great exodus of workers from the poorer regions of the country to the richest and most developed areas, especially in the southeast. During these 30 years (1940-1970), it is possible to explain the growth of the favelas by relating it to the attraction of the cities that were developing at this time. Lessa (2005) explains that the Brazilian cities, especially Rio, had an enormous power of attraction for the poor population, because the metropolis:

“Despite all the insecurity, raises the welfare standard and accessibility to social services. The metropolis, when it grows, is a construction site and a space of possibilities that continually attracts poor manpower from the smaller cities and the countryside.” (2005, p293)

It was also in the late 1940s that the favela came to be viewed differently by the public power. In 1937, the Building Code officially recognized the favela as a type of urban space (Valladares, 2005 p23), but it was only in 1948 that the first census of favelas was carried, and in 1950, more than 50 years after the first favela emerged, the favelas were finally indicated as such in the General Census. Previously, in the official census of 1920 and 1940 the Morro da Providência was not portrayed with any substantial reference to its actual characteristics (Valladares, 2005).

Already in the 1960s, according to Meirelles and Athayde (2014), a removal policy was adopted as a solution by the then Governor, Carlos Lacerda. He was responsible for the expulsion of more than 42,000 people from 32 different communities. With the coup d'etat of 1964 (the year in which President Jânio Quadros suffered a coup from the Armed Forces that took power in the country), this policy was strengthened under the pretext of controlling the expansion of the favelas (and the growth of its population that was already over 330 thousand people), since the current idea was that the favela was “an infestation and in urgent need of control” (Meirelles and Athayde, 2014, p47) and the “elimination of the brutal and unfair contrast of the favelas with the buildings and the beautiful landscape” (*Ibid*, p48).

The strong economic growth experienced by Brazil between the years 1968-1973, the so-called “Economic Miracle”, a period in which the country's GDP grew at a rate of 11.1% pa, did not bring significant improvements to the quality of life of the majority of the population. In fact, there was a devaluation of the real minimum wage and a fall in the purchasing power of the citizens. On the other hand, it provided a dizzying increase in production goods, bringing another flood of workers to the cities in search of better living conditions and better jobs. When they did not find popular housing options, they settled in the favelas, which proliferated in the spaces that were neglected by the formal process of urbanisation of the city, such as steep slopes and mangroves, and were occupied by this poor group as they sought housing. This movement has, over the years, generated vast favelas regarding population and expanded settlements beyond urban areas and the metropolitan peripheries.

It was also during this period, during the military dictatorship lived in the country, that the phenomenon of organised crime began to be born. This phenomena would grow wildly and would assault the Brazilian favelas in the following decades becoming the biggest problem of public security in Rio de Janeiro today.

2 Military, dictatorship and organised crime: the escalation of violence in the favelas

“The Brazilian police kill, en masse”

(Peschanski and Moraes, 2015, p61)

The history of organised crime in Brazil is strongly related to the military dictatorship that the country endured between 1964 and 1985. In the late 1960s, the Military Regime hardened the repression every passing day, and included bank robberies in the “National Security Act”. This Act was designed to protect the country from “internal enemies”, especially the “communist threat” (Marconi, 1980; Leeds, 1996). As a result, political prisoners involved in bank robberies intended to finance political resistance, as well as ordinary robbers, were placed in the same inmate group. This group was sent to the maximum security prison Cândido Mendes, in Rio de Janeiro, and separated from the general population of prisoners, thus forming a distinct cabal that became known as “the Collective”. The Collective was so called because political prisoners, leftists and mostly people with access to quality education and reading, as well as with diverse cultural baggage, began to teach the ordinary prisoners about the ideology of the collective (Leeds, 1996). These ordinary prisoners acquired with the political prisoners “the principles of political organisation and a collective conscience hitherto lacking in the Brazilian penitentiary system.” (Leeds, 1996, p238)

According to the testimony of William da Silva Lima, one of the creators of what would become the Red Command, one of the most powerful organised crime factions in Brazil, the “Collective” prisoners agreed to practice what he called “solidarity”: not to steal, not to rape and to help one another to attain the greater goal, which was to leave the prison, whether being released or escaping (Souza, 2004). When the political prisoners were moved to other prisons, the remaining prisoners who belonged to the “Collective” (those who were once ordinary thieves) began to exercise a kind of leadership, and became responsible for organizing the life inside the prison, covering everything from the financial donations made by the prisoners to secure basic resources, to funding prison breaks. They also introduced a code of conduct (Leeds, 1996) that punished those who committed theft or rape.

In order to dilute the strength of the group, the authorities decided to integrate the remnants of the original group into the general prison population (Leeds, 1996). Consequently, conflicts began between the adherents of the “collective” code of conduct, now known as “security law personnel” (Souza, 2004), and other gangs inside the jail who committed robbery and rape. Lima points out perfectly what he considers to be the intention of the authorities behind this measure: “the more divided we are, the better for them to dominate us” (*Ibid*). The situation thus moved to a major conflict within the prison in 1979 that left six dead and sealed the dominance of the collective and its code of conduct in the Cândido Mendes Penitentiary. Following the conflict, a report from the Prison Officer on the on-site situation referred to the group as a “Red Phalanx” that would soon become known as the “Red Command” In a last attempt to dilute the power of the organisation, prison authorities transferred their members to different prisons, “which effectively spread and further reinforced the idea of collective action” (Leeds, 1996, p238). About the emergence of the group, Lima recalls:

“I'm not the founder of the Red Command because it was not founded. It created itself, it was born. The repression, the cowardice, the beatings made us unite, hence they say 'it was founded.' 'Founded' no. We have created a resistance” (Souza, 2004).

At the beginning of the 1980s Red Command leaders were already scattered throughout the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, and the emergence of cocaine as a lucrative new product of drug trafficking increased the power of these leaders, who began to command the favelas where they settled. In them, they had some community support (Leeds, 1996) because of the improvements and the paternalistic way they dealt with the residents and their needs. Neglected by the state, the favelas were a centre of poverty and social inequality and, at that time specifically, were not very much associated with violence (Vaz and Baiense, 2011), but rather with social issues like open sewers, inadequate housing, famine and health problems that afflicted its population. In this scenario, characterised by the state’s neglect, the organised crime leaders, who needed the collaboration of the residents, found fertile ground to settle and, with minor improvements and actions to help the community, as well as the imposition of a security

law that forbade robberies and rapes inside the favela (inherited from the Red Falange's prison-based code of conduct), they won the loyalty of these residents. During those years the criminals created the idea of the "good favela's boss", who cared about the welfare of the community. And here it is important to point out that such drug dealers only stood out as "social drug dealers" and eventually became idols in their communities, because they offered essential services that the State refused to provide:

"The services mentioned are only valuable because the State does not provide it and because the agencies in charge of providing security — the Military Police and the Civil Police — act as corrupt and repressive forces that usually chase and kill instead of protecting." (Leeds, 1996, p244)

Besides the 'camaraderie' created through the trope of the favela's boss" (the drug lord who controls the favela and all the other drug dealers within it) who takes care of its inhabitants, the drug traffickers did not fail to compel the residents not to cooperate with the police, at the risk of imperilling their own lives:

"In fact, whoever the dealers suspect of being an informer is punished harshly – expelled from the community or even exterminated. Although the inhabitants of the favela often feel embarrassed by this enforced cooperation, they have little or no respect for the police, who always treated them with contempt and violence simply because they are favelados." (Leeds, 1996, p243)

This lack of trust in the police mentioned by Leeds (1996) is the result of years of police abuse and violence against these residents, as we will discuss in the next chapter, and helped organised crime to maintain the abovementioned law of silence within the favelas. According to the author, the systematic police violence against the favelados resulted in the acceptance of "an alternative security system" (Leeds, 1996, p243). Not only are the Policemen violent with the residents, humiliating them constantly, setting checkpoints at the entrances of the favelas where they are extorted and beaten (as in the case of the favela Naval, narrated in the next chapter), but they also engage in the illicit activities of the traffic. Brazil is not a weapon-producing country, for example, so it just requires a little reflection to start wondering where the weapons circulating in the

favelas are coming from and who is facilitating this transportation. Cocaine itself is the other main product of trafficking: Brazil, again, is not a significant producer or processor, but a distributor (Leeds, 1996, p239), so how is this cocaine paste coming to the favelas?

It is part of the popular knowledge within the favelas (and has been witnessed) that police agents receive the so-called “arrego” — bribes paid by drug-dealers to the police so that they do not 'disturb' their business arrangements (Nascimento, 2011, p59; Leeds, 2007, p28). This police corruption is already systematized and this strong relationship between the forces of repression and the drug traffickers, was often extended to the residents who were regularly beaten, and had to pay a “toll” when driving in a checkpoint at the entrance to the favelas (as we shall see in the case of the Favela Naval in chapter 3) or had their houses invaded and turned over under the pretext of searching for something that would connect them to trafficking. Thus, “the favelados' perception that for them formal justice does not work has led a portion of this population to accept an alternative justice system” (Leeds, 1996, p243). And Sage, quoted by Leeds (1996, p246, my translation) argues that “in the favelas at least, democracy has been replaced by the creation of a narcocracy (...) wherein the economic structures and policies are the result of the general involvement, direct or indirect, in drug trafficking”.

Over the years the struggle for power within the favelas – and the drug distribution points therein – intensified, causing the emergence of new criminal organisations and constant wars for domination of territory. This contributed not only to an increase in violence in the favelas but also to the emergence of much more violent drug lords — who stood out precisely because of the cruelty they showed their enemies — and caused the disappearance bit by bit, of the “good dealer” culture. Nowadays, the Rio favelas experience not only wars for power between drug dealers from different factions, but rather a war between a parallel power and public security forces, who came to ‘occupy’ some Rio's favelas (the UPP programme, that will be examined more closely in the next chapter) in order to expel the criminals. This constant war between the security forces and the drug dealers reflects the idea that the favelas have

become “synonymous with disregard for law and order, a space that requires police raids.” (Meirelles & Athayde, 2014, p9)

In a country where 70% of the population does not trust the police, 63% are dissatisfied with their performance and a third of the population fears police violence (Mena, 2015, p21), it is imagined that favela dwellers, where the police have always found more freedom to act with brutality, have an even greater distrust of the corporation. This historic resistance to “collaborating“ with the police, sometimes underpinned by organised crime, sometimes by the distrust of the residents themselves in the suitability of the police, has reinforced the stigma that all favela dwellers are criminals or collaborate with criminals. It is commonplace to see people from outside the favelas arguing that if you did nothing wrong then you have no reasons to run from the police, for example, without understanding that the favela resident lives in constant fear of violence by the Police and the numerous cases of police abuse within the favelas over the years, as we shall see in the next chapter, have left a profound mark on this population which still looks at the uniformed men with great mistrust, especially in a country where “murder, racism, disregard for laws and corruption have become commonplace” (Mena, 2015, p21).

3 “A good thief is a dead thief”: Police and violence in a century of favela

“All police vans look a bit like a slave ship.”

(Todo camburão tem um pouco de navio negreiro

(song), Marcelo Yuka)

When speaking of police violence in Brazil, it is necessary to go back to the times of the Portuguese Empire and colonial Brazil, subsequently to the years of Brazilian slavery. Contemporary police still hold a vision of “protector of privileges” (Mingardi, 2015), and since 1850 has been repressing the poorer strata of society as the *capoeiras* and black men (Terra and Carvalho, 2015, p38) which, of course, led to a police force that is currently repressing with violence the poor and mostly black favela residents.

In Slavery Brazil, social control was exercised within the productive units, by the slaveholder or his captains and bounty hunters (Terra and Carvalho, 2015, p44), the latter responsible for hunting (and often punishing violently) the blacks who tried to escape from their owners. The “policeman” inherited some of the attributes of the bounty hunter: if the bounty hunter used to hunt slaves who had fled, now the Police slaughter and kill their descendants, the favela residents: the Brazilian Police were responsible for more than 5,000 deaths in 2017 (G1, 2018). Regarding this evolutionary timeline of the police repression in Brazil, Terra writes:

“The transition from the slave labor regime to the free labor regime is a structural change that echoes in the city to this day. What has been done in the past has been to remove the black majority populations to the favelas and to undertake in these populations an excludable and repressive social control. In this way, the direct consequence is the formation and strengthening of psycho-affective barriers that produce ideological effects and cultural distancing” (Terra and Carvalho, 2015, p44).

There was, since then, the fear of the black and poor population by the white people. This fear, called by Chaloub's (1988) *white fear of black souls* persists to this day, with

the poor and black segregated in the vast favelas of the country, but has its origins long before the first favelas emerged. Chalhoub points out that:

“The slaves and freedmen of Rio had instituted their own city, possessed of its rationalities and movements, which undermined the institution of slavery without ever really merging into any project or disciplinary delirium. It was against this black unruly and alternative city that the Republic turned.”
(Chalhoub, 1988, p84).

Returning to the concept of the broken city discussed previously, this division of the town goes even further in the past than Ventura (1994) himself advocates in his work, thus having its origins in the very root of the history of the black population in Brazil. On this issue, it is important to engage with the observation made by Michel Misse on the process of stereotyping of the black and the favelado as a criminal, that will be discussed in depth in the following chapter. The author reveals that the groups of *capoeira* (a mixture of fight and dance developed by the slaves brought from Africa) were already persecuted since 1850 and that with the proclamation of the Republic in 1889, the repression became fierce, that *capoeira* became a crime and the official pretext for the transfer of more than a thousand of capoeira practitioners to the Island of Fernando de Noronha, in an effort to bring these groups to an end (Misse, 2002).

For more than a century of the coexistence of these former slaves of yesteryear and the favela population of today (mostly from black origins, as explained in chapter 1) with the white/non-favela community, the fear of chaos and disorder that have come to be attributed to the black population since the days of the capoeiras' repression, and “is not restricted to people of black origin, but it invades and inhabits its habitation, its space-time, that is, the Favela” (Terra and Carvalho, 2015, p39) has grown. This ‘chaos’ is used to justify the strong repression and social control exercised against the residents of these communities.

If in 1850 it was the capoeiras and the repression of disorder, the fight against organised crime is today the primary justification for the police repression of the favelas. Scanning the newspapers makes it clear that the operations undertaken daily by the police within

the favelas, have not been effective as a mode of pacification, but have been lethal. Although this work is not focused on discussing public safety policies and the daily slaughter that takes place on the streets of the city these days, it is essential to reflect on the escalation of violence in Rio de Janeiro. In 2017, Brazil had 5012 people killed by the Police, and in the same year Rio de Janeiro was the State with the highest number of deaths caused by Police, at 1127, and of dead police officers, at 119 (G1, 2018).

According to Mingardi (2015), “just read any newspaper to find that in Brazil many police officers have often gone beyond the bounds of legitimacy. Some cases are repudiated by virtually all those who know the details. When the police forces kill a middle-class individual or a child, right and left unite to criticise.” (Mingardi, 2015, p14). Although I disagree with the argument that when any child is killed the society unites to require punishment. Recent cases such as the boy Eduardo de Jesus, 10, killed with a shot in the head in the Complexo do Alemão, prove the opposite: the favela children lost the assumption of innocence, which is reserved for the white children of the ‘asfalto’ (the family had to conduct a public campaign to deny rumours that he was a criminal and explain that it was not Eduardo in the pictures that were circulating — which showed an armed boy identified as Eduardo). Mingardi is, however, quite straightforward in explaining that when the Police kill within the favelas (and the civil society understands this, in line with the official discourse, as the death of criminals), all is well; but when the same Police kill a middle-class citizen, there is a substantial call for punishment. The Police violence in Brazil only has repercussions when “the occurrence reaches spectacular dimensions or when the victim is seen as ‘innocent’ or ‘worthy of life’.” (Karam, 2015, p33). But who decides who is worthy of life? In a society where part of the population is hugely stigmatised, and there is a settled belief that the favela resident is, or supports the criminal (Rinaldi, 2006), it is quite easy to understand how little commotion is caused by the death of the poor people in the muddy streets:

“Military occupations, machine guns, grenade launchers...only seem to matter when they reach privileged sections of the population. When the ‘enemies’ are only those identified as ‘traffickers’ and those who, poor, nonwhite,

marginalised, favela residents, deprived of power, resemble them, the establishment of exception regimes does not provoke protests or cause any commotion” (Karam, 2015, p37).

There is thus the legitimisation of the Police violence within the favelas, strengthened by the strong stigma burdened by the favela resident. This issue will be discussed later in Chapter 4 when talking about the stigmatisation of the occupants, but it has become essential to raise this question to explain the popular support for Police truculence when it is practised within the favelas:

“Some police extrapolate the law, acting illegally, beating, torturing or even executing criminals or alleged criminals. Often with the support of some social segment.” (Mingardi, 2015, p14)

Added to the belief that a “good thief is dead thief”, with which 44% of the population agree (Mena, 2015, p25), the lack of empathy among the other segments of the society with the favela residents, there is also the issue of the invisibility of the poor, black and favelado in Brazil. Segregated in the hills and peripheries, on the margins of society, these parts of the population suffer from a process that makes them invisible to wider society:

“The tragedy of the dead son in Capão Redondo or the Complexo do Alemão becomes a note. In Ipanema or the Jardins, it makes the front page. The invisibility of the reality of the periphery is part of the mechanism that allows the suppression of rights. It only claims rights who is visible in the field of democratic debate” (Capriglione, 2015, p57).

In this scenario of institutionalised police violence (Mena, 2015, p20), there are hundreds of cases of abuse and violence in the history of the Military Police in Brazil, but these following examples have been highlighted here because they had repercussions after being filmed by residents, and later published in social networks and in the mainstream media. The Naval Favela case, in São Paulo, 1997, will be reviewed

briefly, followed by the cases of Morro da Providência and the death of Maria Eduarda Alves, in Rio de Janeiro in 2015 and 2017, respectively.

Favela Naval⁹

In 1997, the gratuitous violence of law enforcement officers caught by an amateur cameraman sparked a debate on the Police forces performance. The report by the journalist Marcelo Rezende aired on TV Globo on March 31, 1997, showed a group of military policemen mounting a checkpoint at one of the entrances to the favela Naval in Diadema, São Paulo, and extorting, beating, torturing and finally executing drivers and passengers.

The report begins by showing the group of policemen beating a group of boys who were in a VW Brasília: slaps in the face, punches and blows of batons are delivered against the boys, who do not react. Soon after another car is stopped and the driver, a young black man, becomes the new target of the group and the boys from the previous vehicle are released to continue their journey. The man is taken behind a wall and beaten for eight minutes. In the video, one sees only the arm of the policeman going up and down as it delivers the blows of baton. The man cries, begging for him to stop. Another officer approaches, a shot is heard and then silence. The policeman keeps his gun and laughs. The beaten man is the musician Silvio Calixto, who although badly injured was not hit by the shot and survived. The report, showing excerpts from the raw video recorded over three days, then displays the Gol vehicle driven by Jefferson Sanches Caputti being stopped at the blockade. Antônio Carlos Dias and Mario José Josino were also present. The boys get out of the car and the torture session begins: Caputti receives the most abuse; placed on the hood of the car, the boy is beaten by a baton. One of the policemen twists his foot and then starts to hit the bare sole with the baton; in 3 minutes the boy receives 38 blows. After being beaten, the three are released and enter the car again. When they are leaving, the Police officer Otávio Lourenço Gamba decided to fire twice at the car without any reason, killing Mário José Josino.

⁹ For the video and information on the case go to:
<http://memoriaglobo.globo.com/programas/jornalismo/coberturas/favela-naval.htm>

The case has had wide repercussion after the report and is considered an important milestone in combatting Police violence in Brazil, due to the changes that, although not directly related to the case, have followed its release. In the days immediately following its disclosure, important proposals that were in progress were implemented. On April 3, the Senate approved as a matter of urgency a Bill that had been under discussion since August 1994, typifying the crime of torture. On the following day, the Constitution and Justice Committee approved the constitutional amendment that federalises crimes against human rights and on April 6 the President sanctioned the law that typifies the crime of torture and makes it enforceable. The creation of the National Human Rights Secretariat, announced since March and scheduled for May 13, was also anticipated for the same day. Immediately after its creation, the Secretariat announced the creation of a group to propose changes in the Police and the start of the discussion of a process to unify the military and civil police (Rifiotis, 1999).

Acari – The death of Maria Eduarda ¹⁰

On March 30, 2017, Maria Eduarda Alves, 13, was struck by four shots¹¹ inside her school in Pavuna, Rio de Janeiro, and died. The Military police had exchanged fire with local criminals at the time of the death and were filmed by a resident executing two wounded men, who were lying on the sidewalk of the school where Maria Eduarda was shot. Relatives of one of the executed men stated that the police attempted to alter the crime scene by removing the body, but were prevented by residents¹².

The video, sent to Jornal O Dia via Whatsapp, shows the officers Fábio de Barros Dias and David Gomes Centeno shooting two men that were lying injured on the sidewalk:

¹⁰ For a video and more information on the case: https://odia.ig.com.br/_conteudo/rio-de-janeiro/2017-03-31/pms-acusados-de-execucao-em-acari-sao-presos.html

¹¹ For a report on the case: <https://extra.globo.com/casos-de-policia/corpo-de-maria-eduarda-tinha-quatro-ferimentos-dizem-peritos-21142127.html>

¹² For a report on the family statement: <https://extra.globo.com/casos-de-policia/policial-que-atirou-em-maria-eduarda-so-mencionou-um-disparo-em-seu-depoimento-na-dh-21182045.html>

one of them is seen moving before he is shot by the policemen. These officers were part of the 41st Military Police Battalion of Irajá, known as the “death battalion” and responsible for 20% of deaths by police in the state in the two months preceding the case. With the help of the video, the policemen were arrested and charged with felony murder.

Morro da Providência¹³

Once again Police officers caught on video would revive the discussion about Police violence in the country, especially in Rio de Janeiro. During the course of research, I noticed through Facebook posts and interviews (appendices 5, 6 and 7) that a recurring complaint from favela residents is about not having anyone to whom cases of police brutality can be reported. The uncut video, therefore, has become the main weapon of defense in the hand of the residents against the police violence, being an essential piece of evidence to give credibility to the denunciations (as will be explained in the study of the case of Alan and Chauhan in chapter 10).

The death of Eduardo Felipe Santos Victor, 17, would be one more to increase the statistics of police violence in Rio de Janeiro. Recorded as another “resistance followed by death” case by local UPP officers, who claimed to have been attacked by armed criminals, including Victor, and who said they had fired in self-defence, the teenager's death was elucidated by a video recorded by two residents and sent to the newspaper O Dia, via Whatsapp.

In the above-mentioned video, it is possible to see five Military Police officers around a bloody body lying on the ground: it is Victor, possibly still alive¹⁴. The officers moved the fallen body, then repositioned it. One of them shot into the air, another took a gun and, after cleaning it, placed it in Victor's hands and pulled the trigger twice to leave powder marks. In the video, the residents who registered the whole action narrated the

¹³ For a report on the case: https://odia.ig.com.br/_conteudo/noticia/rio-de-janeiro/2015-09-29/video-flagra-pms-de-upp-forjando-auto-de-resistencia-apos-confronto.html

¹⁴ For a report on the case: <https://oglobo.globo.com/rio/providencia-pms-sao-flagrados-alterando-cena-de-crime-1-17641673>

fraud, and according to them, the boy surrendered yet, even so, was killed. Police officers continued to tamper with the crime scene so they could claim that the teenager was armed and firing at the Police when he was shot. Without medical help, Eduardo Victor died in the street of the favela. Before being arrested (after the release of the video by the mass media outlets), the policemen recorded the case as “resistance followed by death” or “Act of resistance”, a term that emerged during the military dictatorship and is defined by Misse as:

“The term Act of resistance comes from article 292 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which authorises the use of the necessary means to ‘defend himself or to overcome resistance’ if there is resistance to arrest when the person is caught in the act of committing a crime.” (Misse, 2011, p29)

The video recorded by residents was a crucial piece of evidence in this case. Every day, favela dwellers are killed by the police who then register these as “Acts of resistance” to justify such deaths. The term itself was no longer used as from 2016, and was replaced by “homicide resulting from opposition to police intervention”¹⁵. The practice of police brutality, however, continues. In 2017, as quoted above, 1127 people were killed by police in the State. Also according to Misse, most of the “Acts of resistance” follow the same script:

“reported that police officers were on routine patrol or operation, near or in a location dominated by armed groups of drug dealers, when they were shot and then retaliated for ‘unfair aggression’. After the shooting had ceased, they would have found one or more ‘individuals’ shot to the ground, usually with guns and drugs nearby, and then they were given immediate help and taken to the hospital. In almost all of the ‘Acts of resistance’ it is reported that the victims died on the way to the hospital, and the Medical Bulletins later attest that the victim was admitted to the hospital already dead“ (Misse, 2011, p.33).

¹⁵ More about the change in: <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/sociedade/fim-do-auto-de-resistencia-e-mudanca-cosmetica-dizem-especialistas/>

Regarding the punishment of the police involved in the deaths, Mena highlights the inefficiency of the Brazilian justice system, which shelves most of the cases involving police killings, and complies with police conduct that could only be a resort in cases of exception (such as the breach of confidentiality and invasion of domicile, for example), but is routinely adopted in Brazil:

“In a survey in which he evaluated 300 cases of death by police intervention, delegate Orlando Zaccone identified that 99% of these cases were shelved in less than three years (...) According to him, the condition of life of those who died, the place where the facts happened or the existence or not of a criminal record are already sufficient for the Public Prosecutor's Office to identify the death as legitimate and shelve the case.” (Mena, 2015, p25)

The five police officers involved in this particular case were arrested but, more than that, the video sparked again the debate about police brutality and police corruption in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The repercussion of this case was so great that it provoked statements not only from the State and Federal Government, but also reactions from the media and international bodies such as the UN¹⁶.

In light of these cases, it is also important to highlight the use of the Whatsapp application in denouncing police violence within the favelas and, especially, as a bridge between the ordinary citizen and the newsrooms of the major newspapers. In the case of the favela Naval in 1997, journalist Marcelo Rezende received and watched the material recorded while he was in a bar and still took about a week with a team of journalists scrutinising the data. This scenario involving time and effort of several professionals only occurred in cases with the potential of great repercussion. Therefore most of the violent events inside the favelas remained without attention and space in the media. Today, with the possibilities of more inclusion, brought about by the Internet, residents fight for more space and find ways to make their denunciations and complaints reach the mainstream media, either through mobilisation on networks like Facebook and

¹⁶ For a report on the UN reaction: <http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/geral/noticia/2015-10/onu-ve-risco-para-upp-na-acao-de-pms-que-alteraram-cena-de-crime-em-morro-do>

Twitter, or by using the numbers provided by the newspapers themselves to contact them via Whatsapp:

“Thanks to the active entry of the poor into social networks, the lies conveyed by the Police press offices in collusion with an unqualified press, fans of easy solutions and telephone verifications, begin to be dismantled”. (Capriglione, 2015, p59)

3.1 The Peacekeeping Police Units (UPP)

A new chapter in the studies of police violence in Rio de Janeiro began with the implementation of the UPP: Peacemaking Police Unit. Created with the objective of pacifying the favelas, expelling organised crime from the place, and installing police units within them, the UPPs divided the public opinion but ended up finding legitimacy and popular support. According to the website of the Government of the State of Rio de Janeiro, the UPP “is one of the most important Public Safety programs carried out in Brazil in the last decades (...) was elaborated with the principles of the Proximity Police, a concept that goes beyond the community police and has its strategy based on the partnership between the population and the institutions of the Public Security area” (Governo do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, UPP). On the same website, it is also possible to verify that the program, started in 2008, is already present in 38 favelas of the State and its area of coverage extends through 264 territories.

Official figures released seem encouraging, but caution is needed in analysing the project. As explained before, this thesis does not investigate the public security policies of the State of Rio de Janeiro as such, but some engagement with the issue is part of the context necessary in order to create a richer discussion of the search for voice and resistance in which the residents of the favelas are engaged. The very name “peacekeeping police” of itself, should be treated with caution. When one thinks of pacifying a population or territory, what comes to mind is the genocide of minorities and native populations: the Portuguese, for example, pacified indigenous populations considered wild and dangerous when they arrived in Brazil. The word “pacify”, without doubt, is historically associated with the genocide of minorities (Terra and Carvalho,

2015, p50) and conquest of territories. What, then, did the State Government intend to do at the beginning of the programme? For Terra, this is an indication that, once again, the Republic turned against the favela, and the UPP project gained strength by following the paradigm that the favela “should not be policed like the other places of housing, but militarily conquered and occupied” (Karam, 2015, p37). This goal is pursued with the support of mainstream media, which diffuse fear and the idea of the favela as an antrum of disorder and crime:

“The Republic once again ignores, criminalises and segregates the Favela with its Peacemaking Police Units (UPPs) programme; the UPPs intend to “pacify“ it without considering their historical milestones, their rationalities and their social, cultural and affective relations.” (Terra and Carvalho, 2015, p50)

Underpinned by the support of Vera Malaguti Batista's analysis, Terra also reflects that the media played a fundamental role in the popular support obtained for the UPPs project (the spectacular coverage of the Army's entry into the Complexo do Alemão is an example) and discusses the geography of the city and the UPPs, concluding that the project focuses on favelas located in wealthier areas of the city or in the vicinity of areas that will host 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics sporting events (Terra and Carvalho, 2015, p51) raising again questions about the real concerns and intentions of the authorities in undertaking such a daring project.

The war against the drugs and organised crime became one of the central planks of the state's public security, and the Favela, therefore, was used “to demonstrate administrative competence” (Terra and Carvalho, 2015, p70), even though it has proved to be inefficient (since the numbers of the violence continue to rise). The targets of this war are the most vulnerable in the drug distribution chain in Rio de Janeiro: “the poor, the marginalized, the blacks, the powerless, like the retail drug sellers in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, demonized as 'traffickers' or those who resemble them by their skin color, by the same conditions of poverty and place of residence” (Karam, 2015, p37). Thus, the drug war discourse that places organised crime as an enemy of the state (Terra, 2015) is also used to justify police brutality within the favelas, the constant state

of siege and the contempt for fundamental rights such as the supposed inviolability of the home.



Figure 3: Post on Facebook about the Police breaking doors and raiding homes in the Complexo da Maré.

Thus, without intending to delve into the subject, this paper only questions the results of the UPP, which, from the newspapers and official indicators of violence, has proved to be unsatisfactory since it has not been able to contain the wave of violent crimes in which the city is immersed and has not brought significant improvements to the residents of the communities concerned. On the contrary, recent allegations of torture and rape committed by UPP police officers raise questions about the presence of the Police within the favelas bringing more tension and fear to the residents than the promised peace. In 2017, for example, three UPP officers working in the Jacarezinho favela were sentenced to 56 years in prison for the rape of women in the community in 2014¹⁷. In 2016, eight UPP officers who worked in Fallet favela in central Rio were indicted for torture and rape¹⁸. The examples are dozens and even just days after the takeover of the Complexo do Alemão in 2010, NGOs already denounced the abuses

¹⁷ For a news report on the case: <https://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/ex-pms-acusados-de-estupro-em-2014-sao-condenados-a-56-anos-de-prisao-no-rio.ghml>

¹⁸ For a news report on the case: <http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2016/01/pms-de-upp-indiciados-por-estupro-e-tortura-sao-presos-no-rio.html>

committed by the Police in a document sent to the UN and OAS¹⁹. I am considering, that the process of pacifying the favelas is, therefore, being supported by violence and police abuse, to contain, by force, the black and poor population of the favelas, to pacify “the barbarians living in the black, *quilombada*²⁰ and *favelada* city.” (Terra, 2015, p72).

¹⁹ For more information about the denounce:
<https://www.cartamaior.com.br/?/Editoria/Direitos-Humanos/OEA-recebe-denuncia-contra-megaoperacao-no-Complexo-do-Alemao/5/13532>

²⁰ Related to the *quilombos*.

4 Life in the favela: identity, stigma, struggle and survival.

“What harm did to you
My humble people of the hill?
Who live up there
Living a Dog's Life
Abandoned
Covetously wronged
And you still say
That only thieves live there“
Povo da Colina (song), Bezerra da Silva

This chapter deals with identity, representation and stereotyping, in order to understand how the stigma attached to the favela resident (discussed previously), affects the daily life of this population. To this end, this enquiry will be supported through the use of Media and Cultural studies concepts (especially from Hall [1997, 1973]). Before addressing representation itself, it is therefore important to define identity. In a general way, identity can be defined as a set of characteristics related to an individual that allows that person to be identified as an individual and to differentiate him/her from others. However, the concept of identity can be very difficult to explain because of its complexity and the fact that it varies according to the area of study that addresses it. Liliana Giorgis (1993, p5) argues in her work that: “A self-referential identity built on the principles of abstract logic, can not explain the transformations and socio-cultural differences”. One could argue, then, that the concept of identity goes far beyond the simplistic definition of a set of characteristics, including the complexity of other factors such as personal choices, the culture in which the individual is inserted and the inherent personality – here I think it is necessary to underline the crucial difference between identity and personality, as explained by Woodward:

“Personality describes qualities individuals may have, such as being outgoing or shy, internal characteristics, but identity requires some element of choice. For example, I may go to football matches on Saturdays because I enjoy shouting

loudly with a crowd of lively extroverts, but I go to watch Sheffield Wednesday because I want to identify with that particular team, to wear that scarf and make a statement about who I am, and, of course, because I want to state that I support one Sheffield team and not the other (Sheffield United). We may be characterized by having personality traits, but we have to identify with – that is, actively take up – an identity” (Woodward, 2004, p6).

Considering the social-anthropological perspective, identity exists only in contrast, i.e., there must be ‘the other’ so there is a comparison of signs, and also “is not naturally ‘given’, but it is culturally defined and constituted” (Golubovic, 2010, p25) by the individual in the environment where he lives. Woodward (2004) also provides evidence on the social-anthropological perspective when discussing individual identity as a product of society, and defending that identity provides a connection between individuals and the world where they live and between the way we see ourselves and the way people see us. As Woodward notes, “it is a socially recognized position, recognized by others, not just by me” (2004, p7). Zhao, Grasmuck and Martin (2008), also defend the notion that identity is only part of our self-concept and involves a public process between what the individual believes he is and what others believe him to be and, thus, the construction of identity is “a public process that involves both the ‘identity announcement’ made by the individual claiming an identity and the ‘identity placement’ made by others who endorse the claimed identity, and an identity is established when there is a ‘coincidence of placements and announcements’.” (Zhao, Grasmuck and Martin, 2008, p1817). And finally, Castells (1999), presents the concept of identity as a full social experience, defending the idea that “You can understand the term identity as the source of meaning and experience of a people.” (1999, p22).

We assume, then, taking into account the social character of identity formation, that the identity of the favela resident is influenced not only by who he/she is, by the environment where he lives, his ancestry, history and personality, but also by the opposition to what he is not, and we are then referring to the asphalt resident, to the

civilized city, heir to the “European city”, as opposed to the “quilombada²¹ city” (Terra and Carvalho, 2015), that is, the favela and its connection with the slaves and with the barbarism, as we will see further in this chapter. Such a connection brings to the identity of the favela resident stigmas so strong that when someone is born in the favela, very early this individual might understand and see himself at a disadvantage in relation to those who are born in the “asphalt”. Evidence of that can be found in the research carried by Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernández (2013), that reported how residents of Rio's favelas described themselves and their existence in the favelas:

“The personal self narratives are dominated by the experience of misery, suffering and hard work trying to make a living, educate their kids in safety, and to grow up without succumbing to what the residents of the favela see as the threats and dangers of its context. Their stories tell of the discrimination, poverty, loss of friends and family, and how they struggle to live a positive life” (2013, p65).

Finally, still considering the social character of identity, if we follow the rationale that “the feeling of belonging to a people, a culture, nationality, region, religion, group, or other form of cultural identity, almost always meant not belong to another” (Santos, 2011, p145), we can argue that the favela resident does not feel part of the rest of society, being segregated from it against his own will, as well as the society does not think that the favela residents are part of it, being them “the others” and facilitating violence against this people, as discussed earlier.

In this context, it is essential to understand the concept of representation so that we can reflect on the representation of favela residents and its developments. Is such a representation capable of negatively impact the lives of thousands of people to the point that over a hundred years after the end of slavery in Brazil the black population — especially in the favela — still suffer the impacts of that period? Hartley (2002, p202), argues that “representations are words, pictures, sounds, sequences, stories, etc., that

²¹ Term used by the author to relate the favela to the quilombos, being the first heir of the latter.

‘stand for’ ideas, emotions, facts, etc”. He also explains that they rely on “existing and culturally understood signs and images” (*Ibid*). and are responsible for making sense of abstract concepts. For Hall (1997), representation is the act of saying something meaningful about something or someone to other people and “is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture” (Hall, 1997, p15). With this in mind, he argues that one of the acceptable definitions of culture is “whatever is distinctive about the ‘way of life’ of a people, community, nation or social group (...) the 'shared values' of a group or of society” (*Ibid*, p2) and finally defines meaning as that which gives us the notion of who we are and where we belong and also as being “tied up with questions of how culture is used to mark out and maintain identity within and difference between groups.” (*Ibid*, p3).

As a consequence of this process, the way more affluent people (those who live outside the favelas) see and represent the individuals within it, may have an impact not only on the formation of their identity, but may also affect their life choices – both social and professional– limiting those with whom they may relate and the professions or careers they can pursue. Dyer (1993, 1) claims that the way we are represented and therefore seen, impacts how we are treated and that the way we see others (and others sees us) comes from representation – which is very significant when reflecting on the mainstream media representation of the favelas as a place of violence and crime and the popular support to police raids in those spaces, for example, and also to understand the challenges faced by its residents to break a cycle that places them in positions considered of lesser importance or of servitude, as if the favela resident had no place in universities, for example. On that subject, Leite (2005) argues that:

“The ways in which the poor and their social status are represented have direct impact on the ongoing process of construction and reconstruction of the identity of these individuals.” (Leite, 2005, p4).

Finally, it is necessary to define stereotypes to reflect on the stereotyped representation of favela residents and their possible consequences. Again, the source here is Hall’s discussion of stereotyping, since the author deals extensively with the subject, with the

focus of his reflection on what he calls “racialised regime of representation” (Hall, 1997), which dialogues perfectly with the analysis that is central to the present discussion, since (as seen in chapter 1), a large section of favela residents today are still descendants of black people who were freed at the end of the slavery regime, and who sought, in neglected and forgotten areas of the city, a place to establish housing. I, therefore, see the stigmatisation of the favela people as strongly linked to the stereotyping of blacks in Brazil. For Hall, stereotyping reduces people to a few fixed characteristics to represent them, in a process of essentialization, simplification, reduction, and naturalisation of who that person or group is:

“Stereotypes get hold of the few 'simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognized' characteristics about a person, reduce everything about the person to those traits, exaggerate and simplify them, and fix them without change or development to eternity. (...) Secondly, stereotyping deploys a strategy of 'splitting'. It divides the normal and the acceptable from the abnormal and the unacceptable. It then excludes or expels everything which does not fit, which is different. (...) The third point is that stereotyping tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power. Power is usually directed against the subordinate or excluded group.” (Hall, 1997, p258).

Thus, the author further argues that stereotyping, through the abovementioned process of separation and exclusion, still serves a purpose of maintaining the social order, separating what is acceptable from what is not and excluding the non-member, the “other”. As we have seen in previous chapters, this strong process of social exclusion through the notion of a split city in which the favela resident is seen as “the other” facilitates, encourages, and legitimises abuses, violence and discrimination against this population.

Therefore, the stigma carried by the inhabitant of the favela is a crucial point of the research, since it bears a great responsibility in the way the favela dweller is portrayed in the media and consequently influences the ways in which these people search for new ways to make their voices heard. According to the current media model, these favela

residents “figure as miserable, uneducated, indolent and barbaric” (Meirelles and Athayde, 2014, p29). It was, however, still the case in the early twentieth century (Zaluar and Alvito, 2006) that the stereotype attached to the slum was already of poverty, filth and violence, bringing to light the fact that since its emergence these communities and their residents carry the weight of prejudice. Mail exchanges between the chief of the 10th Police district and the Police chief available at the National Archives in Rio de Janeiro, dated November 4, 1900, makes this quite clear:

“Obeying the request for information (...) I have said that the Morro da Providência is infested with vagabonds and criminals (...) it is impossible to provide this area with policing services, because the place is a focus for deserters and thieves, there are no roads, the houses are built of wood and zinc, there is not even one gas nozzle. The complete extinction of the malefactors will be necessary, and must be achieved using a large siege.” (Zaluar and Alvito, 2006, p8).



Figure 4: O Malho, 1940, edition 0116 (1) portrays the favela resident as a “rascal” who has “horror to work”

Also according to Zaluar and Alvito (2006, p9), the document is important because it shows that only three years after the appearance of the first favelas in Rio de Janeiro, they were already perceived as a “focus of deserters and thieves” and yet it is first mentioned as a double problem: one sanitary, due to the unhealthy conditions of the places of residence, and the other an issue of law enforcement, as it was allegedly occupied by vagabonds and bandits, serving as a refuge for criminals. In fact, as seen in chapter 3, social control, and the opposition to black culture and the prejudice against favela dwellers in Brazil existed before the favelas itself, having its origins in the slavery-based Brazilian society, and is, therefore, an inheritance of the prevailing prejudice against slaves and later the ex-slaves (as we saw in chapter 3 the persecution of the capoeiras). This same prejudice is perpetuated into the present, and is transferred to the favela, the successor to the *quilombada* city (Terra and Carvalho, 2015).

First, it must be understood that during slavery and soon after its abolition, the current thinking about life in Africa was of pure barbarism, opposed to the sense of civility in the Americas and Europe, for example. The discourse, to a certain extent used to justify the enslavement of the African black people (and according to Hall (1997) based on the work of Frederickson), was that blacks lived in Africa in complete disorder, cannibalism, and savagery. Hall, citing McClintock, further explains that Africa, and hence the Negro, were seen during the Enlightenment as:

“the parent of everything that is monstrous in Nature (...). Curvier dubbed the Negro race a 'monkey tribe'. The philosopher Hegel declared that Africa was 'no historical part of the world ... it has no movement or development to exhibit'. By the nineteenth century, when the European exploration and colonization of the African interior began in earnest, Africa was regarded as 'marooned and historically abandoned ... a fetish land, inhabited by cannibals, dervishes and witch doctors'.” (Hall, 1997, 239).

This thought, coupled with the physical differences between the Caucasian whites and the African blacks, was still fueling the beliefs of the intellectual inferiority of the black people and the representation of the black as naturally lazy and “naturally born to, and fitted only for, servitude” (*Ibid*, p244), besides primitive, simplistic, barbaric and uncultured, “genetically incapable of 'civilized' refinements” (*Ibid*). Thus, the representation of the black as incapable of reflective thought or of cultural manifestations (a view that was genetically attributed to them and considered an inherent condition of their race) prevailed in the popular imagination. This is evident in an excerpt from the census of 1948, the first conducted in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro — more than 50 years after the emergence of the first favela (see chapter 1). More than the document data itself, it is surprising and shocking that an official and public document states that “the ‘black and brown’ prevailed in the favelas because they are 'hereditarily backward', lacking ambition and maladjusted to modern social needs” (Zaluar and Alvito, 2006, p13). This is in accordance with Hall in his beliefs that the Negro was represented as “lazy”, “only fit for servitude” and genetically incapable of learning and to acquire culture, but also as dangerous and capable of bringing chaos to the civilized city. It is possible to consider this the origin of prejudice against black people in post-slavery Brazil, which is perpetuated to the present day having encompassed places of mostly black population, such as the favelas.

Following on the evolution of the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, with the arrival of organised crime in the favelas in the late 70s, the criminal stigma was getting stronger and really took root in the popular imagination from the 2000s on (Vaz and Baiense, 2011), adding the criminal image to the representation of poverty and dirt that already existed and, as a consequence, virtually decreeing that every favelado is or is about to become a criminal (Rinaldi, 2006). From a young age, the inhabitants of the favela learn, therefore, to live with the prejudice that will accompany them throughout life. As children they (and their families) have to deal with the representation of the poor or dirty kid. Meirelles and Athayde (2014) point out that during their research they encountered many mothers concerned about getting toiletries for their children, even if this purchase affects resources dedicated to family recreation to invest in shampoos and perfumes:

brought even among other citizens of the peripheral area of the city, but who lived outside the favelas. This picture, fortunately, is changing in recent years, giving space to a favela resident who is proud of his/her black and favelada origins. (Meirelles and Athayde, 2014).

In the labour market, problems finding a job go beyond skin colour or presentation; for favela residents, these problems include the simple association with a postcode. Moved by prejudice and fearing delays, setbacks caused by constant police incursions or even because of the stigma of criminality (especially in the case of young men), employers recoil when they discover the candidate's place of residence. Knowing this, when it comes to seeking work, residents sometimes use the address a friend or relative who comes from areas outside the favela (Leeds, 2007, p26). Men living in the favelas earn 35% less than men in the 'asphalt'. When it comes to black men, the ones living in the favelas earn a massive 50% less than the ones in the formal city. (Queiroz Ribeiro, 2002 apud Leeds, 2007). Moreover, the black youth living in the favelas, the primary target of police violence in the city, also see the need to dress and behave in a way to disassociate their image from the image of criminals. An example is the person of Altair, described by Meirelles and Athayde (2014), who:

“Spent an entire paycheck on clothes, believing that what he wears can open doors. He is a good-looking black man, but is aware of the prejudice outside the favela. He then takes care of his hair, wear the best deodorant, values his clean shirt and keeps his shoes shining.” (Meirelles and Athayde, 2014, p87).

On this topic, I conclude that the misrepresentation of the black population and later the favela population has been contributing, for more than a century, to the maintenance and extension of social differences, exclusion and abuse against this population, feeding and strengthening prejudices and, exercising, through stereotyping, a form of symbolic violence (Hall, 1997) that not only distances this population from the rest of the people of the city, but also legitimises physical violence itself, as we have seen in the chapter on police brutality. In the following chapters I will discuss the power relations involved in this form of media representation and the role of social networks in this context.

5 The role of the press in the daily representation of the city and the favela

“In part, we give things meaning by how we represent them - the words we use about them, the stories we tell about them, the images of them we produce, the emotions we associate with them, the ways we classify and conceptualize them, the values we place on them.” (Hall, 1997, 3)

This chapter will analyze the representation of the favelas in the media for more than a century of its existence and, in agreement with Valladares (2005), will defend the proposition that the current representation of the favela is intrinsically linked to those developed and consolidated in the first decades after its emergence and that these narratives “can be considered organisers of a founding myth of the favelas' social representation.” (Valladares, 2005, p22).

As discussed in chapters 3 and 4, the first impressions of the favela in the media highlighted the poverty, the hygienic conditions of the “citadel miseranda²³” (Valladares, 2005, p32) and the presence of vagabonds, rogues and criminals, the so-called “dangerous class”.

²³ Miseranda: Latin word meaning worthy of mercy, worthy of pity, unfortunate, deplorable.



Figure 5: A visit to the Morro da Favella: 1,500 homeless people, a picture of horror and miseries. Jornal do Brasil, 12/07/1907.

Therefore, to understand the current representation of favelas in the media in Brazil, it is important to reflect on the emergence and transformation of this stereotyped representation over the years. This representation not only legitimizes violence against favela dwellers but it is itself part of this violence — not physical, but symbolic violence (Hall, 1997) that acts through the dismissal of the right of these residents to secure a more reliable representation, and a space and voice that allows them to be heard as social actors in the events that pertain to the favela.

Discussing symbolic violence, Hall (1997) argued that stereotyping is the main element in its exercise, since the possibility of representing someone has a power relation of who represents on whom is represented; here “power” should not be regarded only as the coercive use of force as speech and power are intrinsically linked. Hall (1997) also emphasises Gramsci's concept of Hegemony, wherein in a non-totalitarian society a group of cultural values will naturally prevail over others, arguing that:

“Power, we recognized there, always operates in conditions of unequal relations.” (Hall, 1997, p261)

This unequal relationship has already been made explicit in previous chapters when I discussed the concepts of the broken city and the favela resident as “the other”, as

opposed to the citizen of the “civilised city”. And this relationship has been exploited by the media in the use of representative resources when portraying the favela (the “favelado”, the “other”, is portrayed as “suspect” or “trafficker”, while “asphalt” middle-class citizens are portrayed as “youth” when in the same situation, for example) and in the process itself of producing news about the favela — the excessive dependence on the Police as a source and the deficiency in verifying the facts, are a symptom of the lack of importance of the favela in the agenda of the city news:

“Look, big coverage in distant favelas only when there is over 12 dead.” (Ramos and Paiva, 2007, p79)

5.1 Police: the owner of the favela narrative?

One of the major problems observed in the media narrative about the favelas is the extreme dependence on the “official version” of the facts, usually provided by the Police themselves. There would be less of a problem if the police had not become the primary source — if not the only source — in most cases, ignoring other social actors. In a survey conducted in 2004 and 2006, it was found that the Police were the main source heard in 43.2% of the cases; specifically in Rio de Janeiro, the same survey revealed that 26.9% of the cases reported in eight newspapers were based exclusively on police information. The other sources mentioned by the authors are the testimony of, or about the victim (corresponding to 9.7% in the national survey and 10.4% when considering Rio de Janeiro only), the Government (8.5% considering Federal, State and Municipal agencies) and in even less significant numbers the specialists (doctors, engineers, criminologists), members of civil society and the Public Prosecution Service (Ramos and Paiva, 2007).

As discussed in Chapter 3, and later elaborated in Chapter 10, a practice rooted in the actions of the Rio de Janeiro Military Police was to kill and allege “homicide resulting from opposition to police intervention” (previously called “Act of resistance”). Due to this extreme dependence of the media on the Police itself as a source, the news commonly reports the death of innocents as a result of an “exchange of shots” between the Police and “suspects” or even call them “traffickers”. This problem has several

consequences, the first of which concerns the investigative and regulatory role of the press. The press plays a regulatory role in society, denouncing inappropriate behavior, crimes and inequalities, charging authorities with problem solving and keeping the citizen informed:

“The press has always had this role of deflagrating processes and discovering information, but I think in Brazil it is much more valued precisely because of the failure of other systems. As the Police do not work and only investigates what has repercussion, the media ends up working as Police sometimes. There are many cases in which, if the media does not investigate, the Police, due to incompetence or sloppiness, will not investigate either.” (Ramos and Paiva, 2007, p22).

But when the press has the police as the only source, bias is inevitable and then it fails to fulfil this function by ignoring the other social actors and harming several vital sectors of society and, in the specific case of Rio de Janeiro, having a significant impact on the ability of the media itself to criticise the police — there are reports of threats to journalists by the police “to prevent the publication or continuation of reports on agents' corruption or violence” (Ramos and Paiva, 2007, p41) — and consequently negatively impacting the fight for human rights and social equality. Journalists defend themselves by claiming it is impossible to exclude the Police version since the security forces are the official source in cases involving crime and violence — be it police brutality or not — but the question that remains is why other sources such as witnesses, relatives of victims, and neighbours are not heard? Ramos and Paiva (2007) addressed the problem well:

“There would be nothing to criticise in this prevalence were it not for the fact that the security forces are the only source of the stories in a significant number of cases. A large percentage of reports (more than 50%) show only one person or institution as the origin of the data or information. Most of the time, this source is linked to a Military Police battalion or a Civil Police station. This

predominance has as counterpoint the absence of other important social actors, rarely in the pages.” (Ramos and Paiva, 2007, p37)

On the media side, some self-reflection on its relations with the favela and its residents would be in order, so that there is a clear attempt to find new connections and new ways of ascertaining news: “The media outlets could go a long way if they established new channels of dialogue with society and institutionally demanded more transparency from the authorities”, according to Ramos and Paiva (2007, p46). But if, on the one hand, the journalist should not depend solely on the police as a source, on the other hand it is impossible to ignore the difficulties of reporting the favela in the contemporary period. First, there is the difficulty of gaining access to the favelas, which has worsened since Tim Lopes' death in 2002, requiring, in most cases, the authorisation of local drug dealers for the entry of journalists. I myself faced difficulties when I was in Rio de Janeiro in 2016 to conduct field research, and I was not convinced, at a time of crisis and escalation of violence, that I would be safe when entering the selected favelas. For ethical reasons, some media institutions refuse to negotiate with the local gangs and thus have no access to the favelas. This obstacle, however, should not be a limitation of the journalistic work in the favelas since there are other ways of getting in touch with residents and relatives, and conducting investigations. Telephone, internet and mediation of NGOs and residents' associations, for example, are alternatives that can overcome this difficulty.

5.2 Legitimizing violence: the paths of police brutality intersect with the stereotypical representation of favelas

As discussed in Chapter 1, Brazilian favelas were viewed as a social pathology and a health problem since its emergence more than a century ago. Currently, this discourse has extended to point to the favela as the “epicentre of urban violence” (Baroni, Aguiar and Rodrigues, 2011, p313). Thus, the representation of the favela in the media can be seen as a direct product of the influence of the image of the favela on the society and especially on the government, which has always regarded it as the “place par excellence of disorder” (Zaluar & Alvito, 2006, p.14). In this way, the mainstream media, although it can not be held solely responsible for the creation of this representation of poverty

and violence, must have recognized its role in the diffusion and crystallization of this representation in the collective imagination, which for more than a hundred years has built a “specific cognitive universe from which we come to interpret the events connected to it (the favela); a universe impregnated with violence, neediness and segregation of the rest of the city.” (Vaz and Baiense, 2011, p2)

Although today the predominant notion of the favela is that of a place of violence, the way of portraying the favela has fluctuated considerably over the years. Initially, as we have seen in previous chapters, it was seen as a place of great danger due to the presence of vagabonds and rogues, as well as a sanitary problem and the locus of extreme poverty (Zaluar and Alvito, 2006). With its growth and expansion to other areas of the city, the favela came to be seen as a blot on the landscape, an argument used justify the removalists programs in the 1960s (Vaz and Baiense, 2011), aimed at removing the residents from the favelas to designated areas (far away from the centre and wealthy zones), followed by the demolition of the original dwellings.

In the early 1980s, the typical representation of the favela was poverty and neediness, with little emphasis on crime or violence in general. In fact, a survey conducted by Vaz and Baiense (2011) in the newspaper *O Globo*, shows that violence was not the main issue related to the favelas in the media at the time, and also that the favela itself was not perceived as one of the most relevant public issues. At the end of the decade the issue of violence began to gain importance, but still, only 43% of all articles analysed in the research included criminality/violence (Vaz & Bahiense, 2011, p.8) — we will see in chapter 8 that this number practically doubled in the present day.

Throughout the 1990s a gradual transition can be perceived between the image of the favela as a territory of poverty and neediness for a representation of the favela related to the crime. During the 2000s, poverty ceased to occupy space on the public agenda, replaced by security, and the favela consolidated in the media as a place of crime,

dominated by the parallel power²⁴ and source of violence responsible for the chaos in the city.

In the statistical survey of the newspaper O Globo of 2010, the percentage of subjects related to the favela that dealt with issues of violence/crime rose to 67%, demonstrating that this type of framework “became hegemonic” (Vaz and Baiense, 2011) — the quantitative result of the research developed in the present work points to the continuity of this framework of hegemony of violence, as Chapter 8 explains.

But the framing of violence is not the only problem in journalistic coverage of favelas in Brazil. In a survey carried out by Cândido Mendes University between 2004 and 2006, it was verified that the press tends to explore topics related to “drug trafficking, police truculence, violence and crime, but that the voices and perspectives of favela residents are rarely represented” (Baroni, Aguiar and Rodrigues, 2011, p.310). This is also one of the direct results of the hegemony of the Police and public security organs as the only sources in the coverage of favela-related events, as explained above, and corroborates the already established belief of the favela as a centre of crime through a manipulation of the narrative that places the inhabitant of the favela always as criminal or suspect - which, we shall see later, is like saying that he is a criminal - and presents, for example, the murder of young workers by the police as a confrontation (Capriglione, 2015, p58). This representation is the main factor of legitimizing police violence, since the media bears the main responsibility for the mobilization of public opinion and has been systematically consolidating this stigmatized view and providing inputs that contribute to the acceptance and even the demand for more Police, and thus for an increasingly brutal police, tolerating, banalizing and even encouraging such brutality, “represented by torture in police stations and prisons, extrajudicial executions in the light of the day, arbitrary arrests, and, finally, indifference to any constitutional guarantee and any respect for human rights” (Wyllys, 2015, p53). Colonel Augusto Severo summed up the role of the press in legitimizing the operative mode of the police:

²⁴ The criminal factions or groups that dominate organised crime in Brazil.

“Legitimacy is given by public opinion, and the media helps us to form public opinion.” (Ramos and Paiva, 2007, p47)

The way this has been done is a combination of the criminalisation and misrepresentation of favela dwellers as the overemphasis on violence. The mass media show that commercially exploits crime, especially of the poor and favela residents, and which increases the fear, the sense of insecurity and imminence of uncontrolled violence and, consequently, the desire for more Police, thus helping to legitimize police violence and making the dialogue on public policies that act at the root of the problem of urban violence, such as quality education and the reduction of social inequalities, for example, more difficult. Such subjects are seen as a “pat on the head” (Ramos and Paiva, 2007, p80) for favela dwellers who, according to the society beyond the favelas, are or are about to become bandits (Rinaldi, 2006).

Finally, it is necessary to highlight the role of social invisibility in this scenario. Vera Malaguti Batista, quoted by Terra and Carvalho (2015, p49) outlines that “the diffusion of the fear of chaos and disorder has always served to detonate strategies of neutralisation and discipline of the impoverished masses.” The invisibility of the poor of the favelas and peripheries in the Brazilian political and social scenario facilitates this social control and allows the suppression of rights because “only those who are visible in the field of democratic debate can claim rights” (Capriglione, 2015, p57). The question here is how the poor and marginalized will claim rights if the other segments of society ignore the daily genocide of this population in the favelas. How can the criminalisation of this population be fought if the entire media apparatus represents the resident of the favela as a criminal? Capriglione (2015) notes that, if victims of police violence in the favelas are accused of being a “trafficker, of having resisted arrest, of being armed, a version that traditional media relays docilely and, in most cases, without checking (...) it is cowardice.” (Capriglione, 2015, p58). Posthumous criminalisation, moreover, is another one of the major problems faced by favela residents — besides the daily fear of dying, there is still the fear of dying and being accused of being a criminal and the media perpetuating this image. Once again I use Hall's (1997) concept of symbolic violence to support Capriglione's argument (2015) that this is undoubtedly

one of the most significant acts of violence committed against the families of people murdered by the Military Police in Brazil: portraying them in the media as criminals. Ana Paula Gomes de Oliveira, the mother of Johnatha Oliveira, killed by the police with a shot in the back in 2014, declared in a Public Hearing of the parliamentary commission of inquiry of the Acts of resistance (TV ALERJ, 2015):

“When I see those lowlifes trying to incriminate my son, it's like they've killed my son again.”

In this sense, the favela that is spoken in the conversations in the city reflects the favela we see on TV and in the newspapers. Their pains, their dead, their struggles are invisible to the population who only pay attention to it when one of theirs descends to the asphalt and commits some crime (Capriglione, 2015).

5.3 The journalist as a foreigner: the media as an enemy of the favela?

The research on the Brazilian favelas conducted between 2004 and 2006 by the Center for Studies on Security and Citizenship (CESeC) at Cândido Mendes University, with the objective of analysing the trend of journalistic coverage of the favelas, revealed a consensus: the mea culpa of the media because of the stigmatizing coverage of the favelas. (Ramos and Paiva, 2007). The analysis was carried out about ten years before the data collection performed for the present work, and pointed out that subjects such as culture, daily life and sports, for example, received little or no space in the media, especially considering the high number of reports about violence. After collecting and analysing the data for this research, I could see that this scenario remains unchanged. Journalists themselves acknowledge this position as a common practice in the newsrooms, which is only used to cover favelas, especially those that are far from the wealthy areas of the city, when there is violence:

“Most of the professionals heard recognise that their media outlets have a great responsibility in characterising the poor territories as exclusively spaces of violence. At the same time, they admit that the population of these communities

rarely has coverage of issues unrelated to drug trafficking and crime.” (Ramos and Paiva, 2007, p.77)

The journalists justify this partial and negative coverage with the difficulty of talking to residents who, either for fear of reprisals by the traffickers or because of the negative relationship they have with the media, are rarely willing to speak to the press and often relate their arrival to the appearance of the police in the favelas, as if the journalists were responsible for the information that led them there (Ramos and Paiva, 2007). Since it is a known fact that criminal factions tend to punish their victims harshly - torture, expulsion from the community and even death - those residents who they suspect are informants, the perception of journalists as snitches can have very serious implications, causing the distancing of favela population from the media over the last few years and contributing to the strengthening of a culture of fear and silence:

“We have the difficulty of not being able, in many cases, to enter the communities. People are afraid to talk. We try, but we do not have direct access to this kind of material. The fact that we have to ask permission to enter a favela shows that these places are restricted areas. (...) It is much easier to cover the side the Police offer because they talk to us and the residents do not. The tendency is to listen to one side more than the other.” (Denise Ribeiro in Ramalho, 2007, p193)

Although residents are not entirely comfortable with this “forced cooperation, they have little or no respect for the police, who have always treated them with contempt and violence” (Leeds, 1996), and, in addition, recently they also have little or no sympathy for the press, which they see as “a foreign view” (Baroni, Aguiar & Rodrigues, 2011, p318) and also as reproducer of the official versions of events propagated by the Police. Thus, “several journalists, mostly from Rio de Janeiro, described hostile reactions on the part of favela dwellers” during work inside the favelas (Ramos and Paiva, 2007, p77):

“You have to prove my grandson is a criminal. Bunch of miserable reporters, wretched and liars!” (Jornal a Nova Democracia, 2015)

Bete, a community correspondent for the Viva Favela²⁵ project, explains that journalists were not well-regarded in the favelas because of excessive concern about their stories and their supposed disregard for the reality of the residents:

“The reporter does not care who is there, but with his story. And this can lead to sensationalism and a distorted view. Therefore, the community have little sympathy with the journalists.” (Ramalho, 2007, p34)

Marcelo Beraba, a former editor of *Folha de São Paulo*, justifies the stigmatised coverage of the media, alleging that the journalists do not know any other way of reporting the favela. For him, the consequence is a coverage that:

“oscillates between an excessive emphasis on violence (with reports almost always from a single source, the police, since entering the favelas became too dangerous for the press) and unusual reports of exceptional cases, like the girl from a favela who gained a place at a dance school in Germany (...) The typical resident, who is neither criminal nor a rare case of virtuosity, goes unnoticed, is ignored along with the urban problems (...) that are far-reaching and little discussed.” (Ramalho, 2007, p131)

During the CESeC's research, the then *O Globo* editor Jorge Antônio Barros spoke about the absence of favela residents and blacks in newsrooms and stated that he had no knowledge of any reporter who is a favela resident working for the newspaper — the largest in Rio — team at that time (2004-2006) and that blacks were few. According to Ramos and Paiva (2007), a survey dated 2001 revealed that of the 230 participating media institutions, “only 85 had a black journalist” (Ramos and Paiva, 2007, p79). In 2012, the survey “Profile of the Brazilian journalist”²⁶ conducted by FENAJ²⁷ pointed

²⁵ Viva Favela is an alternative media project that portrays the reality of communities from the point of view of its residents.

²⁶ To access this research outcomes: <https://fenaj.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/pesquisa-perfil-jornalista-brasileiro.pdf>

²⁷ FENAJ: National Federation of Journalists

out that among the journalists, only 23% were black or brown. And in 2016, a survey²⁸ conducted by GEMAA²⁹ of the Universidade Estadual do Rio de Janeiro (UERJ), pointed out that the percentage of black columnists in the leading newspapers in the country is hugely disproportionate to the rate of blacks in the population³⁰: 9% of O Globo columnists are black, 4% in Folha and only 1% in Estadão. The absence of representatives of the favelas in newsrooms means that the majority of journalists reporting favela events do not know their delicate relationships, culture and even geography. The middle class, so distanced from the favela that represents everything it does not want to be, is unaware of the transformations happening there because, as discussed in chapter 3, it sees the inhabitant of the favela as toxic, capable of infecting others with their poverty and propensity to crime and thus moves away from it. And it is from this middle class that most journalists come, who carry with them such negative cultural baggage about the favelas:

“Unfortunately, because of the current pattern of information production, Brazil is not aware of the favela, since its employees generally have a horror of it. Then the favela is portrayed in the media as a set of stereotypes, passing on to people ready-made, crystallised concepts.” (Meirelles and Athayde, 2014, p17)

Another factor to be considered when we reflect on the inadequate coverage of the favelas by the media is the agenda of the media outlets themselves, which privileges the wealthy neighbourhoods and the middle and upper classes, readers of the traditional Brazilian newspapers. The public itself is also considered to be the source of the prejudice that stigmatizes the favela's coverage (Ramos and Paiva, 2007), and so we are facing a cycle in which the press only publishes this stigmatized version of the favela because that is what its readership accepts, reinforcing in the aforementioned public the idea about the favela as a place of violence and its residents related to crime, resulting in

²⁸ For more information on this research: <https://www.revistaforum.com.br/a-cor-da-opinioao-negros-nao-sao-nem-10-entre-os-colunistas-dos-principais-jornais-do-pais/>

²⁹ GEMAA: Group of Multidisciplinary Studies of Affirmative Actions

³⁰ 51.4% of the Brazilian population is black according to IBGE data from 2015: <https://ww2.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/estimativa2015/default.shtm>

more desire to see this image of the favela in the media and the consolidation, generation after generation, of the negative image of the favela:

“Who buys the newspaper at R\$ 2 is the elite, and it does not like the favela very much. When you do an article that is a bit more elaborate [on the favelas], they think you’re giving a pat on their heads.” (Maria Clara Prates in Ramos and Paiva, 2007, p80)

During the initial phase of my research, my belief was that newspapers targeted at the working class would bring a different view on the favela and a more accurate representation of its residents, culture and space. However, even with the recent proliferation of tabloid-style, cheaper and lower-class targeted newspapers, the representation of the favelas remains the same. If the expectation was that shifting the target audience to the lower classes and workers, as opposed to the middle and upper classes of traditional newspapers, would also change the way they portray the favela, this is not the case. The dependence of these small tabloids on large media outlets and news stories, from which they receive content (Ramos and Paiva, 2007), prevents them from portraying the favela differently, frustrating, as we will reflect more deeply in the discussion, my own assumptions about a less partial coverage of the favelas by a more popular paper.

The last point to consider is the changes in journalistic coverage of favelas brought about by the assassination of investigative journalist Tim Lopes in 2002. Lopes was working undercover for Rede Globo investigating an alleged scheme of prostitution of underage people in the “Bailes Funk” (dance parties), in the Complexo do Alemão, when he was captured by the gang of Elias Pereira da Silva, the “Crazy Elias”, who controlled the region's drug trafficking. Lopes was tortured and killed. The crime shocked the whole society because of its extreme violence — Lopes had his eyes burned with cigarettes, was ‘quartered’ and finally placed in the “microwave”: a practice of the most violent gangs of Rio in which the victim is placed in the middle of a pile of tires covered in fuel and then burned —alarmed the entire journalistic class, causing profound changes in the way favelas were reported.

In the past, most journalists felt quite safe in the favelas as the gangs themselves benefited from the presence of the media as a way to protect themselves from extrajudicial police executions (Ramalho, 2007). After Lopes' death, *Rede Globo* adopted the use of armoured cars and ballistic vests, and expressly prohibited the entry of journalists into the favelas, a move that was then followed by practically all other media outlets. The favelas, which already had little media attention, were now abandoned for good. Not only because of the ban, but also because of the fear of the journalists and editors themselves, who did not want to “even hear about favelas, fearing for the reporters' lives” (Ramos and Paiva, 2007, p99). Personal security and fear of getting killed during favela coverage were cited by almost all professionals heard in the CESeC survey (Ramos and Paiva, 2007). But what about the wider social impact? It is necessary, of course, to put the life and safety of the journalist first, but on the other hand, the media must seek ways to play its part and continue to report abuses and violence. Even to prevent criminals from seeing in torture and murder a way of silencing the press itself. In this critical context, the role of community reporters, residents of the favelas themselves, became crucial and seeded the legacy that would culminate in the news collectives in the favelas today. But still in 2002, with the journalists “barred” from entering the favelas and not counting with the advances brought by the massive entry of the internet and cell phones into them, the Viva Favela project, explained in more detail below, became “virtually the only source of news from within the favelas” (Amaral, 2019).

In 1995, driven by the desire for a “more precise and less prejudiced approach” (Ramalho, 2007, p15) of the favelas, a group of community leaders idealised, with the help of the NGO Viva Rio, a journalistic project anchored in the favela resident as the reporter himself. The project, called “Viva Favela”, was only to be completed in 2001, surprising by its ability to, through the figure of the community correspondent (favela dwellers who were recruited and trained to work together with journalists) “produce a broader vision of these communities and (...) interfere with traditional media agenda.” (Ramalho, 2007, p15)

It was these community correspondents who investigated the facts within the favelas they knew so well and where they were well accepted, unlike the journalists. The hard work of editing the texts produced by the correspondents was one of the main responsibilities of the professional journalists who worked in the project. It was also their responsibility to prevent Viva Favela from showing the favela in such a positive light that it did not correspond to reality—in direct opposition to the mainstream media, which only printed stories about violence and poverty in the favelas (Abreu, 2013). The community correspondents preferred to avoid addressing issues that would put them in a position of conflict with the community. They refused to talk about trafficking, did not like to address issues involving violence in general, and “everyone has always preferred, for example, to show the ‘good’ favela” (Ramalho, p35). The concern, then, was that, for example, “someone looking at the material produced by Viva Favela in 2020 would come across an ‘unreal’ account that completely excised drug dealing and violence. This would not correspond to reality and was not the intention of the project” (Amaral, 2019).

All these changes and the aforementioned difficulty of access was forgotten until, during the highly publicised entry of the military forces into the Complexo do Alemão in 2010, it gained evidence again: the traditional press found itself without access to what was happening inside the favela, relying only with the police version. Residents such as Renê Silva and the other young people from the “Voz da Comunidade” project, which we will discuss further in the text, could report what was happening in real time just by looking out of the window and posting on Twitter.

6 How many voices echo in the city?

“Peace without voice
It's not peace, is fear.”
(Minha alma (song), O Rappa)

The massive influx of favela dwellers on the Internet and the popularization of smartphones within these communities (Meirelles and Athayde, 2014) have brought about dramatic changes in the way the favela relates to the world and especially in the way residents receive news about the favela — whereas they were once only passive recipients, they were now at least active in the process of producing content. This change is a direct result of the social policies adopted since 2002, with the beginning of the Lula administration, aimed at improving the quality of life of the poor population and increasing the purchasing power of this mass. According to a survey conducted in 2013, 50% of favelas had internet access, and 52% of favela residents could be classified as Internet users — between those aged 16 to 29 years these numbers were even higher at 78%. (Meirelles and Athayde, 2014, p93). Five years have passed since the survey, the latest available on the subject, leading me to assume that this figure is even higher considering that the pace of economic growth in the favela is even faster than in the rest of the country (Meirelles and Athayde, 2014). In the next paragraphs, this thesis will address the role of the internet in building the image of these inhabitants and reflect on how technology could help to empower these individuals to combat the social stigmas already so intrinsic to their own identity.

First, according to Zhao, Grasmuck & Martin (2008), social networks can become an essential tool in the process of reaffirming popular identity, allowing people to stop identifying only with poverty and to build a more positive image of themselves due to their disembodied characteristic. According to the author, removing the stigmatizing gating features allows these people to overcome the barriers that exist in a face-to-face environment. Here we can again reflect on the image of the inhabitant of the favela, already so marked by elements as skin colour and clothing or fashion style, for example, causing that wherever she goes, wherever she tries to start new social relations, she

already start this process with a stigmatised image before the other. And there is also, according to the author, the advantage of an anonymous environment, where one can explore personal characteristics never before explored in the real world:

“The emergent online anonymous environment also provides an outlet for the expression of one’s hidden selves (Suler, 2002) and the exploration of various non-conventional identities (Rosenmann & Safir, 2006). As such, the Internet plays an important role in identity empowerment.” (Zhao, Grasmuck and Martin, 2008, p1818)

This anonymity, however, is not complete and, considering the uses of social networks by favela residents, in fact, what I observed was that the virtual world of the inhabitants was an extension of their real world with online connections based on offline relationships. These relationships are also explored by Zhao *et al* and are called “Anchored relationships” (Zhao, Grasmuck and Martin, 2008): relations of the non-virtual world such as family and neighbors, for example, which are also part of our virtual universe and thus constitute an “offline-based online relationship“ (*Ibid*, p1818):

“An online relationship can be anchored through institutions, residence, or mutual friends. The level of anchorage varies depending on the degrees to which online partners are identifiable and locatable offline. (...) If an online environment can verify such personal information and also make it public, then interpersonal relationships are fully anchored in that environment.” (*Ibid*, p1818)

Unlike a completely anonymous environment, Facebook does not allow the user to be “whoever he wants” without involving in total disconnection from his social circle offline. This is equivalent to saying that a young resident of the Complexo do Alemão cannot declare on his Facebook profile that he is a resident of Copacabana unless he completely gives up having friends from his non-virtual social circle in his online social network. As usually Facebook is the main virtual address — 85% of Internet users in the favela already had a Facebook account in 2013 (Meirelles and Athayde, 2014) — of young Brazilians it is quite unlikely that this will happen. Even so, Facebook has

become a virtual environment in which the individual has the possibility to control what he shows of himself and the place he lives. Without the chains of social prejudice, he is free to show himself as a young man who likes to study or surf or cook, for example, and who *also* lives in a favela — and not the poor-favelado binomial that usually comes first and shadow everything else. He can highlight his qualities, show life in the community through his own view, talk about his roots, about the popular culture of the favela and leave aside the primary identity of deprived and often criminal, that the inhabitant of the favela carries, to assume a positive identity, built over the years with the influence of the place where he lives but that in no way is restricted to the stigma of crime and poverty attached to the favelas by the rest of the society.

In addition to the issues discussed above, the internet is supposed to be a tool that enables minorities to gain a voice and to tell their own stories, to produce content. Here I start working with a broad concept of voice as a capacity for participation in economic and social processes, as well as the ability for expression and meaning-making, and therefore an instrument of inclusion (Tacchi, 2009). Lawy (2017) further argues that the concept of voice is strongly linked to the characteristics required for democracy — a plurality of voices would be necessary for such — and is also a prime factor in the fight for equality and political recognition. Supported by Crossley and Crossley (2001), the author defends that it is also through it that it is possible to go beyond the scope of personal experiences and connect minorities who are victims of prejudice in a collective and shared experience. Finally, the author defines that voice “is a way for a social actor to enact or perform their identity and to use their own agency” (2017, p197) and that it “can also relate to agency, representation, power and authority of ‘having a voice’, and can be concerned with ‘claiming one’s voice.’” (*Ibid*, p195). And, finally, we need to reflect on how poverty and voice connect. In general, it can be considered that populations living in poverty and exclusion also face the phenomenon called “voice poverty”, which “can be understood as the inability of people to influence the decisions that affect their lives, and the right to participate in that decision making.” (Tacchi, 2009, p169). So, my starting point in this research was to ascertain if and how social networks were allowing favela residents to have more space to tell their own narratives and if and how that was impacting the general view of the favela in the media.

In this scenario, it must be considered that the emergence of social media has contributed to a change in the way news is produced, modifying interlocution relationships and creating a more horizontal media, where more people become content producers and the news agenda is not entirely controlled by large press groups anymore (Lopes and Alves, 2011). For Jenkins (2008) and Lévy (1999), in the current model of news production, already considering the role of social networks and raw and amateur material, there is no longer the unchanging role of producer and consumer news, all have the possibility to produce and share information, a passer-by who witnesses an event and films with his cell phone can become the primary source of information about that event:

“Thanks to the rise of social media, news is no longer gathered exclusively by reporters and turned into a story but emerges from an ecosystem in which journalists, sources, readers and viewers exchange information.” (Lopes and Alvez, 2011, p112, my translation).

In this sense, the English anthropologist Jo Tacchi (2009) developed a research in Asia called “Finding a voice: making technological change socially effective and culturally empowering” in which she discusses the ‘digital storytelling’ — Practice of ordinary people who use digital tools to tell their ‘story’ and can cover a range of digital narratives, usually multimedia — as a narrative practice supported by new technologies that allows minorities to tell their own stories, in a process of giving them voice and making possible the self-representation by these marginalised groups (Lundby 2008, Hartley and McWilliam 2009, Lambert 2013). These minorities, once excluded from the process of producing news, which become the record of the history of these groups, now have the possibility to narrate their own experiences. Baroni, Aguiar & Rodrigues (2011), based on the work of John Hartley and Kelly McWilliam (2009), argue that the main idea of the digital storytelling is to make it possible that anyone can narrate their stories, make their own narratives in a digital environment. This multimedia content is also a counterpoint to a “culture in which institutional legitimation occurs mainly through written documentation” (Lopes and Alves, 2011, p116), modifying the privileged relations of mainstream media in the production of information and memory.

In the Brazilian favelas, the popularisation of smartphones, which are already part of the lives of 50% of the young residents aged 16 to 29 years with Internet access (Meirelles & Athayde, 2014, p93), also brought a new way of sharing information within these territories, the video. Whether they are denouncing videos without any editing, or edited pieces of parties and old photos and even amateur productions of movies and short films within the communities, the report videos have been gaining space between the Brazilian internet users, especially within the favelas. Gillmor (2006) already noted this tendency of a society under constant surveillance by the citizens themselves through cell phone video cameras and reflected on their harms, such as the loss of privacy and the fear of being filmed and falling on the network, as well as their benefits, such as “curbing police misconduct”, since “Police everywhere must already wonder if they are being taped. Soon they will have to assume they’re being caught on digital video” (Gillmor, 2006, p49). And that's a very important point when we talk about the favela since residents have already realised that cell phone cameras can be a powerful weapon of defense against police violence and posthumous misrepresentation. During my research, I have seen this poster a dozen times, instructing the average citizen to film Police violence:



Figure 6: A screen shot of a Facebook post from the Witness Organisation teaching how to use a mobile to filme police violence in the favelas

6.1 New ways to make news

Contemporary journalism plays multiple roles in society, including that of a symbolic device in helping to construct social reality, that of a source of knowledge and information, and even that of a “place of production of unique knowledge about the immediate dynamics of social reality” (Baroni, Aguiar and Rodrigues, 2011). With the constant changes in the ways that we can access information, journalistic practices are changing and making room for the emergence of new trends such as public/civic journalism and alternative media represented by online social networks.

The concept of public journalism emerged in the USA in the late 1980s as a reaction to the loss of media credibility, and in order to regain the connection with the audience (Costa Filho, 2006) and cultivate the deliberative democratic process (Baroni, Aguiar and Rodrigues, 2011). In this context, the role of the journalist is the mediation between authority, media institutions, and society, helping to form citizens who possess a creative and critical ability (Baroni, Aguiar and Rodrigues, 2011). Costa Filho (2006),

based on Rosen, defends the type of journalist who, unlike the distance sometimes preached within the profession, connects with the audience and participates actively in building a more democratic space, creating:

“A new civic attitude in the journalist, following a new role in which one of its main missions is to revive public life by reinforcing citizenship and improving public debate. The journalist becomes a social actor acting in concert with others.” (Costa Filho, 2006, p130)

Gillmor (2006) reflects on the evolution of journalism in recent years, moving from a model in which journalists and the media treated news production as a lecture — “We told you what the news was. You bought it, or you didn’t.” (Gillmor, 2006, pXXIV) — to a model in which content production resembles more a conversation, an exchange in which the roles of producer and consumer of news are mixed and defending that the media then becomes “a medium for everyone’s voice, not just the few who can afford to buy multimillion-dollar printing presses...” (*Ibid*).

Alternative media, on the other hand - according Baroni, Aguiar & Rodrigues (2011) based on Fontes (2010) - has been studied for the past forty years and should be understood as:

“A set of practices that work from certain common principles, expressing itself at different levels and dependent on the socio-political context in which it occurs” (Baroni, Aguiar & Rodrigues, 2011, p316).

The term has also been contested, as it is deemed excessively broad, with the term ‘alternative’ used to describe “the content, the channels through which the content is delivered, the voices that are heard and the values they spouse” (MacLeod, 2016, p90). But despite that critique, alternative media has been largely considered to be more useful to protesters and activists, as it can help provide space (or voice) and is thought to strengthen the identity of groups otherwise neglected by the mainstream media. Atton (2007 apud Macleod, 2016, p93) suggests that “alternative media also seek to redress what their producers consider an imbalance of...power in mainstream media, which

results in the marginalisation (at worst, the demonisation) of certain social and cultural groups.” The marginalisation process described by Atton is exactly what this thesis has identified as a major and negative element in mainstream media representation of the favelas, throughout the past few decades.

In striving to be more precise when describing the events I encountered in the favelas (given the amplitude of alternative media definitions), I had difficulties in pinpointing one clear definition of what was happening, particularly with regard to the production of news and content. Initially, I considered the frame of ‘community media’ as the best approach for understanding that phenomenon. But there were features, such as restrictions on who can actually produce content, that did not fit with what my observations of the favelas. I then moved to participatory journalism, as defined by Bowman and Willis (2003):

“The act of a citizen, or group of citizens, playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating news and information. The intent of this participation is to provide independent, reliable, accurate, wide-ranging and relevant information that a democracy requires.” (Bowman and Willis, 2003, p9)

But then Rone (2016) argues that in participatory journalism, “audience members contribute their voices to a centralized information news source”, and this central and dependent feature also seemed inadequate, since what was observed in the Facebook pages monitored in this research proved that although there is organisation and even leadership, to say that the production of news within the favelas is completely centralised is to force the barriers of what really happens. I turned, then, to two concepts that I believe are more appropriate to explain what happens in the favelas of Rio: citizen media and favela media activism. Citizen media is believed to have the “potential to facilitate the circulation of otherwise unreported news, stories and opinions in the mediated public sphere” (Stephansen, 2016, p26) and work with the term “implies first that a collectivity is enacting its citizenship by actively intervening and transforming the established mediascape; second, that these communication practices are empowering

the community involved, to the point where these transformations and changes are possible.” (Rodriguez, 2001, p20). Baker and Blaagaard stretched the concept further to include acts of non-affiliated citizens (in contrast to an idea of only collective actions) and embrace both physical resources and digital content, as well as interventions and discourse of these citizens or groups while acting in the public space in search of socio-political changes or to express personal desires “without the involvement of a third party or benefactor. It also comprises the sets of values and agendas that influence and drive the practices and discourses through which individuals and collectivities position themselves within and in relation to society” (Baker and Blaagaard, 2016, p16).

That brings this research to Custódio’s (2016) definition of “favela media activism”, to which I turn now. As blaker and Blaagaard (2016), Custódio (2016) also considers individual and collective actions, but brings an approach with a specific focus on the phenomenon observed in the favelas. The author, that was also facing difficulties to frame what was happening in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro regarding media production in the concept of community media, coined the concept of “favela media activism”, a phenomenon that he believes to contribute to challenging the dominant narratives, stressing the need to leave aside the urge to categorise and judge whether the performance of these residents is “participatory, community, or alternative enough according to pre-defined criteria. Instead, we can see how these different characteristics interplay.” (Custódio, 2016, p27). Finally, the author defends that favela media activism “consists of use of tradicional and new media for demanding media democratisation and contesting politics” (2014, p1) and defines favela media activism as:

“the individual and collective actions of favela residents in, through and about media. These contesting actions derive from and/or lead to the enactment of citizenship among favela residents. By engaging in media activism inside, outside and across favelas, favela residents raise critical awareness among peers, generate public debates, and mobilize actions against or in reaction to material and symbolic consequences of social inequality in their everyday lives.”
(Custódio, 2016, p82)

Custódio (2014a) also argues that “favela media activism” is a development of the participatory media and communication for social change that are already very strong practices in Latin America and adds that residents use a combination of “old media (e.g. radio, newspapers) and new media (e.g. Internet, smartphone applications) combined with artistic, pedagogic and journalistic techniques to promote critical thinking and political mobilisation in favelas” (*Ibid*, p1). This use of varied resources in order to promote political mobilisation was also observed by Maia (2017) when studying the work of two residents of Complexo do Alemão who, independently, used arts among other cultural resources and social media to discuss the issues of the favela where they live.

In addition to the reflection on the new ways of doing journalism, one must keep in mind that the relationship of the favela with the media has always been one of distance, and the residents often see the journalist's perspective as a “foreigner view” (Baroni, Aguiar & Rodrigues, 2011, p.318), as already discussed in the previous chapter. This scenario contributed to the fact that positive events in the favela have little or no press coverage. However, the popularization of the Internet in these communities (Meirelles & Athayde, 2014), is supposedly allowing the favelas to find ways to be seen and heard. And at this point it is crucial to emphasise the reflection on the concept of voice again and that it only plays its inclusive role when there is not only the space to speak but also when this speech is heard:

“Voice is as much about being heard or recognized as it is about speaking.
Listening is a key element to any research on voice” (Lawy, 2017, p196)

An emblematic case to the studies of social media impact in the favelas was the 2010 Police occupation of the Complexo do Alemão, in order to install the Pacifying Police Unit (UPP). The residents Rene Silva (17 years old), Igor Santos (15), and Jackson Alves (13), used the Twitter profile of a community newspaper created by them to narrate real-time input of the police entry into the favela, the reaction of the drug dealers, and the panic among the residents, all seen through the windows of their homes. The mainstream media, which faced mobility problems and did not have the same

access to the local area that the teenagers had, transmitted inaccurate informations that in some cases were even rectified by the boys. Their profile (@vozdacomunidade) on Twitter went from 180 followers before the occupation to over 30,000 in just three days and created an extensive impact repercussion, including in mainstream media (Lopes & Alves, 2011).

At a time when the online audience in the world now exceeds that for the written press and broadcasting audience, and when in Brazil both audiences are already equivalent in size (Lopes & Alves, 2011, p117), this empowerment movement of the poor through technology is highly relevant. For Custódio (2014a, p3) “the residents have increasingly dominated communication channels and platforms to make their own voices and demands heard.” This dialogue with the rest of society, that was harder before the Internet, supposedly contributes to the eradication of the invisibility of the poorest population and their cultural manifestations in the media and also for the wider dissemination and appreciation of favela culture. Meirelles and Athayde (2014), argue that these processes of new experiences contribute to regain respect and enable the dialogue of the favela with the asphalt on an equal footing (2014, p83). Herein a criticism of the author's over-optimism in arguing that the favela can, nowadays, dialogue with the city on an equal footing. It is impossible, in my opinion, to argue that there is already this possibility looking at the number of deaths in the favelas, for example. Or the percentage of the prison population coming from the favelas. Or even reflecting, albeit briefly, on the representation of these inhabitants in the media and how this representation has a direct impact on the two indicators mentioned. I do not wish to dispute the idea that increased participation in the news making process brought by technology and social media is beneficial to the favela population. But my point here is that saying that these changes are allowing dialogue on equal terms is quite premature. Even because, as we will see in chapter 10, media coverage is still crucial for favela residents to gain the necessary visibility so that their denunciations and criticisms break the circle of social networking among favela residents themselves and reach out to others sectors of society. Gillmor (2006) gives us an example of the case of US Senator Trent Lott who in 2002 gave statements that clearly showed support for racial segregation policy. The mainstream media, first, made small mentions to the fact that

would end up forgotten, without much fury, if not for the repercussion online. The online bustle was big enough to keep the story alive and, in a way, force the mainstream media to cover it intensely, eventually leading to the resignation of the senator. It is therefore essential to keep in mind that although news production is undergoing a more horizontal process, there is still a high reliance on the mainstream media to gather the attention necessary for online mobilisation to have a satisfactory impact on the real world.

6.2 Manda um zap: The relationship of the favela with post-internet news

During these four years following pages and groups of favela inhabitants on Facebook, I have witnessed, on numerous occasions, social networks being used to mobilise these people in political acts in defence of the residents or in the fight against police violence and media misrepresentation. I remember when they posted the video of the shooting that killed Alan and injured Chauan in the Palmeirinha. I remember watching, astonished, the footage made accidentally by Alan himself and then the residents of various favelas in Rio mobilising to ask for explanations from the Justice System and demand the release of Chauan. The popular pressure, as we will see in chapter 10, was instrumental in elucidating the case and in arresting the police officers involved.

Other cases that caught my attention during the research were 13-year-old Christian, killed during a police operation in the favela of Mangueiros, in 2015, while playing ball and Eduardo, 10, killed with a bullet in the head while was sitting at the door of his house in Complexo do Alemão, also in 2015. In both cases, residents used social networks to circulate the versions of the witnesses inside the favela, photos and videos. In Eduardo's case, according to the residents themselves, the cell phones of the people who accompanied the work of the police and the presence of representatives of the “news collectives” (which we will discuss later) served to prevent police officers from moving the body, altering the crime scene — the case gained a lot of media attention, perhaps by the sum of the highly violent death (Eduardo's mother said that a piece of the boy's skull landed in her living room given the violence of the shot) and the age of Eduardo. Christian's case had more discreet coverage, and residents used social networks primarily to broadcast the footage made minutes after the shot (Christian's

bloody body is seen lying on the floor amidst residents shouting at the police: “you killed a child!”) and also to organise themselves in protests against the death of yet another innocent and the rampant violence in the favelas. In an edited video available on Youtube³¹ it is possible to see the emotional testimony of Christian's grandmother who tells how her grandson was hit by his back and also claims that journalists lie about the deaths within the favelas (claiming innocent people were reported as criminals) and do not have evidence. These are just the three cases that have affected me the most, because over the years there have been dozens of similar situations: residents, with no space or support from the mainstream media or official bodies, seek in social networks means of telling their version of the events and to organise themselves politically in search of justice and improvements, as well as continually raising the debate about the situation of the favelas and what to do to ask for changes and investment from the authorities.

Often this information, videos, photos and reports circulate only on the Facebook pages of groups of residents and of the news collectives, without gaining the attention of the mainstream media. These pages and groups are managed by those who, in a way, take the reins of that process and manage those virtual spaces, receive and check denounces, mobilise other residents, and ultimately produce content about the events within the favelas. For these, I will use the definition of Custódio (2016) and call them favela media activists. As already mentioned above, Custódio (2016) defines favela media activism as individual and collective actions to raise awareness, generate debates and mobilise people against the scarcities and prejudices, the result of social inequality within the impoverished communities of Rio de Janeiro. The “favela media activists” would then be those residents who alone or in groups (or “collectives”) work using offline and online media to produce content in order to challenge the dominant narrative about the favelas and the favela inhabitants, as well as to create means to fight injustice, police brutality and everyday violence in their community.

³¹ To watch the video:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VSXgfuFUWO8&feature=youtu.be>

During my research, I focused on the Facebook activities of three specific groups: “Maré Vive”, which acts only as a Facebook page administered anonymously by a group of residents of the Complexo da Maré; “A Voz das Comunidades”, which began as a print journal born out of the initiative of three teenagers in Complexo do Alemão and gained prominence in Twitter in 2015, now counting on a multi-platform approach (printed newspaper, Facebook page, Twitter profile, blog, etc); and “Coletivo Papo Reto”, a news collective formed by residents of Complexo do Alemão.

During the research I came across not only with the pages and groups on Facebook, but also with the concept of “collectives”, a term used to designate groups of residents who organised themselves to form a “team” acting in the investigation of facts, event coverage and content production, as well as the constant online militancy for the rights of favela residents and against the genocide of the favela population — almost always relying on their phones. The collective “Papo Reto” (straight talk), for example, one of the most active in the Complexo do Alemão, arose from the need to draw attention to what happened in the favela: “No newspaper or television reporters would set foot in Alemão, so they would take it upon themselves to report the news from their favelas. Their intention was to draw attention to the conditions in Alemão — the blackouts, the curfews, the suffocating police presence — and to warn residents to avoid particularly volatile areas.” (Shaer, 2015). A more detailed analysis of the collectives and other groups operating in the favelas will be offered in Part II, where I will present such groups and all the material I have collected from them during a whole year of monitoring.

However, although my focus was on Facebook, before continuing the discussion about the performance of these groups in that platform, it is essential to highlight the role of another popular resource in the favelas: the Whatsapp application. Through it, residents organise groups to exchange news, photos, videos and real-time alerts on the situation inside the favelas (alerts on police operations, shootings, the need to pick up children at school because of ongoing conflicts or to not leaving home or even to wait to get into the favela). The application is also used to alert “collectives” about violent events (for example, a wounded or dead person) so that they can go to the place as quickly as

possible and document everything that is possible, and, finally, it is quite popular in the circulation of photos and especially videos recorded by witnesses of acts of violence inside the favelas. In fact, the application is so popular that the news outlets themselves have decided to open this channel so that residents can send material directly to the newsrooms, making a direct connection between the raw material collected by the resident witnesses and the broad scope of the mainstream media. An example of this was the case, already discussed in chapter 3, of the policemen caught altering the crime scene to incriminate a young man killed by them in Morro da Providência. One resident witnessed the criminal action and filmed it with his cell phone, sending the raw video to the newspaper's "O Dia" team through WhatsApp. The number of the newsroom is widely publicised in the paper, making it easy for residents to have it on hand whenever they need it. A few times during interviews residents told me they already have the contact number of the newsrooms saved in the memory of their mobiles, ready to send footage and photos or to make denunciations and pressure for answers — unfortunately, these same residents also explained that journalists are not always interested in messages from them and that the raw videos are usually more effective in gathering their attention. During my research, while I have chosen to focus on Facebook, I have often come across the use of WhatsApp by the residents and their impacts, noting that the use of WhatsApp is growing every year for these purposes. I do not have pretensions at this time to analyze the role of WhatsApp since this research has its focus on the production of content by the residents as a counterpoint to the official narrative and WhatsApp is used, so I could see, much more for the exchange of information than for the production of content itself. But this would be an exciting project in the future, especially in the light of the post-truth era and fake news in Media studies.

PART II: Methodological approach and and analysis of empirical materials.

7 Methodology

Before discussing the methodological perspective adopted, it is necessary to clarify the definition of methodology that is being considered in this thesis. Although many authors use the terms method and methodology indiscriminately, the present work will take the definition of Harvey (1990) who argues that methodology can be considered an interface between the method, theory and epistemology. According to him, methodology is the point where theory, method and epistemology coalesce in the process of investigation of the social world. In essence, this makes the discussions about methodology theoretical and practical at the same time, as it addresses both the theoretical basis for the analysis of knowledge to be studied and the methods that will be used, i.e., the practical steps of the research.

It is also essential to situate this study in a field of knowledge, in order to make the understanding of methodological choices (and their results) more precise. Due to its objectives strongly related to the studies of the representation in the mainstream media and the online mobilisations, but not limited to it, the analysis presented in this research draws from a variety of sociological traditions, but is mainly influenced by Media and Cultural Studies (especially the reflections concerning representation, stereotyping, and media activism). By this, the thesis intends both a critical approach on the mainstream media, the perpetrator of a misrepresented idea of the favelas, and also a critical reflection on the online movements and the ability of the social networks to be used as a tool to aid in the struggles for voice and social visibility.

In this research, I was faced with the need for an extensive data collection phase, which generated an enormous amount of material for analysis — material that would never be analysed in a timely manner using a single approach, for example, Critical Discourse Analysis. A similar process applies to the theoretical scope: when the concepts that needed to be discussed to support the reflections brought by the present study emerged, I realised that it would be more productive to employ a combination of approaches. When discussing representation, for instance, the initial approach was to work with the broad (but widely accepted) definition of representation in Media Studies: “words, pictures, sounds, sequences, stories, etc., that ‘stand for’ ideas, emotions, facts, etc”

(Hartley, 2002). However, understanding that this is a core concept in this research, Hall's studies on it were employed in order to offer a deeper reflection on the subject, in a combination of Media and Cultural Studies.

This chapter will discuss the data collection phase, covering the observation of the interactions of the inhabitants of the favelas and media activists online, the collection and categorisation of material on social networks and newspapers for the whole year of 2015 and also the interviews with residents of the favelas. During this phase, 850 newspaper articles and 1629 posts on Facebook were collected and categorised, and 19 interviews were conducted, totalling more than 20 hours of content.

Turning to the discussion of methodology itself, to answer the research question and objectives, this study employed Critical Discourse Analysis, Content Analysis, Virtual Ethnography and desk research. CDA and Content Analysis complement each other in this thesis because one brings rich description and the other brings metrics of news coverage (e.g. percentage of stories that use a violence framing). In this way, these methods counterbalance each other's weaknesses and enrich the research. This integrated approach mixing semiotics and content analysis have been employed by Anderson, Dewhurst and Ling (2006), for instance, that argues that "An iterative method allows the researcher to build upon knowledge [...] gaining insight into the complexities, breadth, and depth." (*Ibid*, p258)

The virtual ethnography naturally presented as an option as I was already collecting material online and, therefore, closely observing the activities of the residents on social media, added to the fact that the virtual environment was extremely relevant to the scope of this research.

Prior to the further development of the application of each of these methodologies, presented below are the research questions and objectives and a broad overview of how each one of them was approached in this research:

Research question:	Approach:
<p>What is the role of social networks and media activism in giving voice to the residents of the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, and what is the relationship between social media use and the mainstream media narrative about the favela?</p>	<p>To answer this question, different steps were taken in search of data that corroborated or challenged the hypotheses taken as the starting point for this research.</p> <p>First, a combination of desk research, content analysis and discourse analysis was used to characterise the favela representation from its inception to current days in the mainstream media. After this phase, this work sought, through content analysis, to determine the type of characterisation of the favela was offered by the residents themselves in social networks. Then, further deepening into this analysis, through CDA and digital ethnography, this work reflects on the changes in the way the resident responds to cases of violence and state abandonment within the favelas. Finally, with a combination of information generated through content analysis and reflections made through CDA approach, in addition to observing the online activities of the residents (digital ethnography), the thesis focused on the issue of the struggles for voice and the possible influence that the actions of these favela residents engaged in media</p>

	activism would have on the mainstream media. The objectives listed below are part of the research structure so that, with their combined individual insights, they provide the material needed for a profound reflection to answer this question, and also to address matters that orbit the main question.
Objectives:	Approach:
To draw an analytical historical line of the press coverage of the favelas from its inception to the present day, in order to visualise the triggering of the current scenario and understand the factors that have influenced and contributed to the construction of the current “way” of reporting the favelas	To reach this goal a combination of desk research and content analysis was employed. First, thorough desk research was undergone to address the representation of the favelas since its appearance to the year of 2010. Then, the data obtained through the content analysis of the newspapers was used to examine the current representation of the favelas and complete the timeline.
Analyse the empowerment generated by social media in these communities and how it contributes to the deconstruction of a stereotypical image of the favelas and the enhancement of the favela culture and its people.	First, Content Analysis was used here to establish the veracity of the assumption that the media reproduced, at present, a stereotypical image of the favelas. Then, again Content Analysis was employed to establish the representation of the favelas offered by the residents on social media. Next, CDA was employed to go through this social media material and identify points of convergence and divergence from

	<p>the mainstream media and, with the help of digital ethnography, reflect if these residents were, through the messages published on these social networks, seeking to offer a counterpoint to mainstream media coverage. Finally, digital ethnography provided the research with the necessary elements to analyse the possible changes brought about by the access to social media in the ways favela residents seek to make themselves heard and especially on how they react to situations of structural violence within the favela.</p>
<p>To examine and understand the differences between the discourse used by the mainstream media to report the life in the favelas and the narratives of residents.</p>	<p>Content analysis was used here to produce a detailed account of both representations: the one offered by mainstream media and the one offered by residents. Categorising every papers article and social media post provided a bigger picture of the story each of this means was telling about the favelas. Then, CDA was employed to analyse the details: the word choice to support the trend (positive or negative) or to strengthen an opinion or a way to report the favela.</p>
<p>Characterise the relationship between favelas residents and the mainstream media.</p>	<p>Desk research was used here to retrieve interviews and statements from both journalists and residents about the relationship between the favela and the media. Previous research has also been revised to support this characterisation.</p>

	Finally, digital ethnography provided this research with dozens of residents reports and direct criticism of the work of the mainstream media in the favelas.
Study how the negative discourse used by mainstream media has contributed to the criminalisation process of the favelas and helps to legitimise violent repression against its residents.	The first base here is the confirmation of the existence of a culture of framing the favelas negatively and violently in the mainstream media, provided by the content analysis applied in the material collected. Then a combination of content analysis and desk research was used to review how this stigmatised way of reporting the favelas prevailed for decades and that this representation of the favelas as a violent place has become hegemonic. Next, CDA was used here mainly, but not only, to show the word choice that characterises this negative framing and the differences between the representations of criminals from the favelas and from the upper classes. Finally, desk research and digital ethnography were used to analyse the legitimisation of violence (especially police violence) against the favelas population and the role of the media in this process.

Table 1: Research question and approach

7.1 Critical Discourse analysis as an approach

In order to investigate the misrepresentation of favela residents' in the mainstream media, and its impact on the disadvantaged social status of this population, an approach

from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) showed as the most appropriate choice, since one of its main guidelines is the study of the relationship between power and inequality, especially in language, focusing on “the discursive reproduction of dominance (power abuse) and its consequences on social inequality” (van Dijk, 2003, p87). In addition, the CDA researcher is not only interested in observing social wrongs, but in attempting to correct them.

Van Dijk (2001), one of the authors considered a pioneer in the field, argues that CDA is not a simple theory or even a methodology that can be applied to the study of social problems, but rather “a — critical — perspective on doing scholarship: it is, so to speak, discourse analysis ‘with an attitude’. It focuses on social problems, and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination” (van Dijk, 2001, p96). In the same line of reasoning, Djonov & Zhao (2014) argue that Critical Discourse Analysis as a methodology:

“[It] is concerned with the relationship between language (and to a lesser extent other modes) and power by studying how communication conceals and legitimises, or reveals and even subverts social boundaries, inequality, and political or commercial agendas.” (Djonov and Zhao, 2014, p1)

The same thinking is defended by Titscher *et al.* (2000):

“CDA is concerned with social problems. It is not concerned with language or language use per se, but with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures.” (Titscher *et al.*, 2000, p146)

For Fairclough (2012), the difference between critical and non-critical forms of social analysis is that the critical emphasises “existing social realities as humanly produced constraints, which in certain respects unnecessarily reduce human flourishing or well-being and increase human suffering” (Fairclough, 2012, p10): thus, the author defines

CDA as a form of critical social analysis focused on understanding social wrongs³², the obstacles to its elimination and alternatives to overcome these obstacles (*Ibid*, p13). He argues that “critical approaches differ from non-critical approaches in not just describing discursive practices, but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies” (Fairclough, 1992, p12).

I then turn to the reflection that what makes CDA distinct from other forms of non-critical linguistic analysis is not only differences in the methodological approach but the fact CDA is based on the strong criticism of social relations (Billig, 2003, p38), especially with regard to relations of power — and its abuse — and inequality. Van Dijk (1993), cited by Billig (2003), argues that the target of CDA is the power elites that benefit from a perpetuating system of social inequalities. For him, CDA is a means of challenging the social order. Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) also advocate the view that it is not enough to analyse the oppressive use of discourse and critique power relations, but that this analysis “should have effects in society: empowering the powerless, giving voices to the voiceless, exposing power abuse, and mobilising people to remedy social wrongs. CDA advocates interventionism in the social practices it critically investigates” (Blommaert and Bulcean, 2000, p449).

When working under the umbrella of CDA, it is vital to define what discourse means. Fairclough’s work gives some direction in that as he argues that discourse has been used in a variety of senses such as “(a) meaning-making as an element of the social process; (b) the language associated with a particular social field or practice (e.g. ‘political discourse’); (c) a way of construing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective (e.g. a ‘neo-liberal discourse of globalization’)” (Fairclough, 2012, p11). He further explains he prefers to refer to the first one as “semiosis” and that it suggests that “discourse analysis is concerned with various ‘semiotic modalities’, of which language is only one (others are visual images and ‘body language’)” (*ibid*, p11). Price (1997) also defends the notion that ‘discourse’

³² Referred to in a general way as any aspect of a social system that causes suffering and diminishes the well-being of the human being, such as racism or inequality, for example.

refers to the “social process of creating meaning through the use of language and other *symbolic forms*” (1997, p72). He then argues that there are two advantages in this approach, one being the reinforcement of the notion that linguistic expression has a great impact on social relations, being responsible for “shaping ideas and actions” (*Ibid*), and the other being the possibility of “study the creation of meaning through other ‘systems’ (or symbolic forms), such as visual communication, intonation, body language, music and so on” (*Ibid*).

Having already defined Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach for this work, I have turned to the application processes described by Fairclough (2012) and Van Dijk (2001), aware, however, of the plurality of approaches available in CDA as noted by Weiss and Wodak (2003), Wodak and Meyer (2001), Fairclough (2003) and also the lack of a ‘step-by-step’ guide on how to apply it:

“It should be stressed that CDA, and discourse analysis in general, are not ‘methods’ that can simply be applied in the study of social problems. (...) CDA does not provide a ready-made, how-to-do approach to social analysis.” (van Dijk, 2001, p98)

Fairclough (2012, p13) explains that the methodology can be elaborated in 4 stages, namely: Stage 1: Focus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspects; Stage 2: Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong; Stage 3: Consider whether the social order ‘needs’ the social wrong; Stage 4: Identify possible ways past the obstacles. He informs that by working through the different steps of each of these stages, it is possible to identify an essential feature of his version of CDA:

“Textual analysis is only a part of semiotic analysis (discourse analysis), and the former must be adequately framed within the latter.” (Fairclough, 2012, p13)

Reflecting, still superficially, on the first stage - “Focus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspects” - it is clear that the issues analysed in the present research have their focus on a social wrong. This is the criminalisation of the favelas, the existence of racism and social inequality reinforced by media representation, and the political use of

the “War on Drugs” discourse to gain more support for police brutality that, in turn, generates more violence, forming a vicious cycle that makes it difficult for the residents of the favela to rise from their condition of vulnerability and, for the most part, from poverty and need. In entering stage 2 - “Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong” - this thesis examines more than a century of favela history in Brazil, focusing on the major obstacle as the use of poor black people as a commodity, which has its origins in the earlier form of a slave society. As discussed in chapters 1, 3 and 4, the prejudice against the freed slaves who first occupied the land that gave rise to the favelas, is strongly linked to the way society and the media portray the favelas today.

“Consider whether the social order ‘needs’ the social wrong”: social inequality has been, since the colonial period, one of the pillars of Brazilian society. The favelas have remained poor and criminalised, and their residents have been denied a voice, without space, and without quality education. These, among other ills, helps to maintain the status quo and the cheap and abundant labour force (Alves and Evanson, 2011). When favela dwellers begin to occupy spaces previously reserved only for the elites and to demand rights, this elite feels threatened, fearful of the supposed chaos that the poor population of the favela could cause (Terra and Carvalho, 2015). Finally, stage four - “Identify possible ways past the obstacles” – calls for a positive critique, that will be left entirely for the discussion section of this work.

Complementarily, Teun van Dijk argues that “a complete discourse analysis of a large corpus of text or talk, as we often have in CDA research, is therefore totally out of the question” (van Dijk, 2001, p99) and proposes six steps to carry a CDA analysis, as cited by Meyer (2001, p 26):

“1- analysis of semantic macrostructures: topics and macropropositions; 2- analysis of local meanings, where the many forms of implicit or indirect meanings, such as implications, presuppositions, allusions, vagueness, omissions and polarizations are especially interesting; 3- analysis of ‘subtle’ formal structures: here most of the linguistic ^[L]_{SEP} markers mentioned are analysed; 4- analysis of global and local discourse forms or formats; ^[L]_{SEP}5- analysis of specific

linguistic realizations, for example, hyperbolas, ^[1]^[2]litotes; ^[3]^[4]6- analysis of context.” (Meyer, 2001, p26)

Finally, Van Leeuwen's approach became the third pillar of the CDA approach I use as a prism for this work. According to him, CDA offers an analysis that moves beyond the notion that the choice of words is a mere stylistic option, an attitude that is of the utmost importance at this stage of the proposed study:

“Critical linguists took the fundamental step of interpreting grammatical categories as potential traces of ideological mystification, and broke with a tradition in which ways of saying the same thing were seen as mere stylistic variants, or as conventional and meaningless indicators of group membership categories such as class, professional role, and so on” (van Leeuwen, 2009, p.167).

According to van Leeuwen, the traditional sociolinguistic model succeeded in describing language usage and change patterns, but could not explain it, so that Critical Discourse Analysis sought to understand these patterns:

“[traditional approaches] have treated them more or less meaningless conventions and autonomous evolutionary processes. Critical Discourse Analysts are seeking to explain why texts are the way they are and why they change the way they do, and following Halliday, they look for the answers to these questions in the social, economical and political world” (van Leeuwen, 2009, p168).

Djonov & Zhao (2014) also highlights the multimodal feature of van Leeuwen’s approach, explaining that it:

“Provides a model for analysing how discourses recontextualise social practices by substituting, deleting, and rearranging the elements of social practices (e.g., social actors, activities, location, time, instruments) and/or by adding evaluations, purposes, or legitimations, and uses SFL for the analysis of verbal

discourse. A distinguishing feature of this model is its adaptability to nonverbal and multimodal representations (...), and the argument that CDA needs to consider not only what is or is not represented nonverbally or multimodally (e.g., whether ethnic minorities are represented in the media) but also how such representations are constructed.” (Djonov and Zhao, 2014, p7)

7.1.1 Addressing criticism

When considering the Critical Discourse Approach, this thesis reflected on the criticism linked to this area of study, especially those related to bias, and alleged problems connected to it. While it is a common consensus that bias is unacceptable, some researchers consider it unrealistic to expect to uncouple the researcher's perspective and positioning from the research itself, since they are inherent to her work, and play an important role in collecting and interpreting information and in the generation of new information.

Interpretation and context are undoubtedly the main points of criticism against CDA (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000), and bias is in the core of most of the critiques as observed in Schegloff (1997), Widdowson (1998), Billig (1999). Griffiths (1998, p133) suggests that “bias comes not from having ethical and political positions – this is inevitable – but from not acknowledging them” and argues that acknowledging these positions not only helps “to unmask any bias that is implicit in those views, but it helps to provide a way of responding critically and sensitively to the research”. Van Leeuwen (2009) also discusses the criticism of this model, arguing that most critical attacks are made on Fairclough and conveniently ignore other studies in the area. According to him:

“Widdowson, for instance, argues that texts are differently interpreted by different readers and that critical discourse analysts unfairly privilege their own interpretations. (...) Critical discourse analysts are aware that their own work, too, is driven by social, economical and political motives, but they argue that this applies to all academic work” (van Leeuwen, 2009, p168).

He continues, also highlighting the importance of acknowledging the researcher's position and of advocating the significance of the critical debate as a significant element in the development of democratic societies:

“Critical Discourse analysts at least make their position explicit and feel they do not need to apologize for the critical stance of their work; on the contrary, by contributing to debates on issues that are of crucial importance to society, they continued the tradition of reasoned the debate that has been fundamental to democratic societies since antiquity, feeling that their work as scholars entails greater social responsibilities than providing facts for others to interpret and us.” (van Leeuwen, 2009, p.169)

Van Dijk also defends the political positioning of critical researchers, arguing that they go beyond the field of “solidarity with the oppressed” and opt for an attitude of opposition and dissent against those who use linguistic aspects to establish their abusive power relations:

“Unlike much other scholarship, CDA does not deny but explicitly defines and defends its own sociopolitical position. That is, CDA is biased — and proud of it.” (Van Dijk, 2001, p96)

This is all in line with the goal of, through the analysis of language (and here we are talking about verbal and non-verbal), uncover the 'hidden ideologies' that can influence the receptor views of the world. Fairclough was convinced that “Critical’ implies showing connections and causes which are hidden; it also implies intervention, for example providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through change” (Fairclough, 1992, p9). I conclude, finally, from the above, that one should not use a critical approach without awareness about their own ideologies, “as if our own words are somehow magically innocent. If we do, then we run the risk of ignoring the political economy in which we operate. (...) if critical analysts fail to be self-reflexive then the critical enterprise can be compromised.” (Billig, 2003, p37)

7.2 Content analysis: gathering and categorising data

With the objective of analysing and comparing the favela setting in the general news and the material produced by the “favela media activists” (Custódio, 2016), I examined all the editions of the O Globo and Extra newspapers of the year 2015 — selecting the articles in which the central theme was the favela — and all Facebook posts in the Maré Vive, Coletivo Papo Reto and Voz da Comunidade's pages. In each of the articles or posts, I sought to identify the main issue addressed and the tone of the speech. For this, I relied on the principles of Content Analysis, as it is considered to be “the primary message-centred methodology” (Neuendorf, 2002, p9) and “it seeks to analyze the data within a specific context in view of the meanings someone — a group or a culture — attributes to them” (Krippendorff, 1989, p403).

Considering that quantitative factors, as a way of recording frequency, should not be used to measure impact (Macnamara, 2005) and that, as argued by Macnamara (2005) citing Newbold *et al* (2002) quantitative content analysis “has not been able to capture the context within which a media text becomes meaningful” (Macnamara, 2005, p5), a mixed approach, using quantitative content analysis concepts to gather the data but strongly relying on qualitative content analysis methods to analyse it, was adopted in this thesis.

Macnamara (2005), Hansen *et al.* (1998), and Shoemaker and Reese (1996), all argue that a combination of qualitative and quantitative content analysis provides the best approach for understanding the collected material considering the whole context where it is inserted. According to Macnamara (2005, p14), it is possible to incorporate aspects of quantitative content analysis while conducting a qualitative content analysis. An example of this would be the analysis of negative and positive words to identify the tone of the text. This author explains, however, that in most cases it is necessary for the researcher to conduct a more in-depth analysis using qualitative methods for a complete understanding of these texts, their potential meanings and effects. He also explains that:

“Qualitative content analysis examines the relationship between the text and its likely audience meaning, recognising that media texts are *polysemic* – i.e. open

to multiple different meanings to different readers – and tries to determine the likely meaning of texts to audiences. It pays attention to audience, media and contextual factors – not simply the text.” (Macnamara, 2005, p5)

For this study all 365 issues of O Globo and Extra — totalling 730 issues— of the year 2015 were analysed. It is important to note at this point that access to this information, when conducting research in another country and without reliable access to hard copies, was a major challenge. As an alternative, a subscription was taken out to the paid online versions of the newspapers, giving me access not only to the day's issue, but also making available all past issues of the papers for the past decade (and even further in the past) archived in a collection with its own search engine, allowing searches to be made by keyword , date and section. Unfortunately, the search engine proved to be of little use, as will be explained later.

Before starting the search in the newspapers, the categories were created according to the hypothesis that this thesis intended to test. Thus, even before starting the analysis, the predetermined values that would result in the classification of an article in a particular category would already have been defined, avoiding that during a long data collection that would extend for a year or more, I looked for such material with different perspectives. This step was necessary as Krippendorff (1989) suggests that readers, including scholars, tend to change their perspective and even analyse in order to favour the hypothesis they want to prove when working with a large volume of material. Thus, the following categories were established for both analysis (newspapers and social networks):

1. Violence: all types of urban violence that constitute crime, including common crimes (robberies, kidnappings, rapes, murders), drug trafficking and its consequences (confrontations, deaths, executions) and police violence (including the deaths of innocent people, police errors, abuse of authority, invasion of domicile without a judicial order, extortion and police corruption; this subcategory was flagged during the study, generating an indicator of how many cases of violence in the favelas involved reports of police violence).

2. Social Inequality: factors involving the living conditions of favela residents: housing, sanitation, access to health and education, public transportation, security, social discrimination resulting in labour market loss or the loss of social relations, and social invisibility.
3. Culture: Cultural events in general: music concerts, cinema, arts, photography, parties, free classes/courses within the favelas, fashion, favela lifestyle, cultural manifestations of favelas. Sporting events were also included in this category.
4. Government actions: Actions involving the State Government, the Federal Government or the city hall (and their agencies and secretariats).
5. Favelas History: the memory of the favelas, footage and old photographs, statements of elderly residents; themes related to the emergence of favelas and their history over the years.
6. Life in the favelas: news from the daily life in the favelas found in social networks (photos in the morning showing the sun rising in the favelas saying “good morning”; lost and found; recommendation of services like taxi companies, hairdressers; posts asking “how things are in the residents location”).
7. General: any news not related to the favela itself, but posted on the social networks of the analysed groups (the replication of a news about income tax so the residents do not miss the deadline to get it done, for example), including reports on the work of the group itself (anniversary of the news collective, for example, or reports of the travel undertaken to talk about the work of the group in another country).

Initially, the plan was to use keywords in the search engine, within the online collection of each newspaper, but this technique proved unreliable since the search often did not find articles even if it contained the keyword (s) predetermined. I have tried to search by keyword in short periods such as a month, a week or just that day and also extended periods like six months and a year. All attempts proved that the search engine did not yield reliable results and I could not identify a pattern for this flaw. Thus, the alternative was to analyse the complete issues, one by one, manually searching and selecting the articles that had the favela as the central theme and reading them in full.

In this process, items excluded were readers' letters sessions, service notes (a bare list of events, such as films screening), and supplements, which vary according to location, such as the so-called “neighbourhood papers”, a weekly supplement with news only from one particular region, because they were not made available in the online collection consistently (in some situations, only one neighbourhood paper would be available on a certain week, while the next week news on another area would be available).

This selection resulted in a total of 850 articles that framed the favela as a central theme, 397 from O Globo and 453 from Extra (appendices 1 and 2). Each of these articles was read and classified according to the categories mentioned in page 107; the results can be seen in Chapter 8. The next step was to identify negative and positive words to determine the tone of the article, as mentioned by Macnamara (2005, p14).

After this manual analysis, a word counter was used to examine which words appeared consistently in the headlines, identify the most used words, and analyse whether they were positive or negative, according to the context (appendices 3 and 4). This analysis resulted in word clouds, which can be seen in Chapter 8. Finally, the section of the newspaper in which the news was published was also noted, the result of which can also be seen in chapter 8.

For the analysis of the content posted online by the groups of “favela media activists” (Custódio, 2016) studied, the Netvizz v1.6 tool was employed, a “data collection and extraction application that allows researchers to export data in standard file formats from different sections of the Facebook social networking service” (Rieder, 2013, p346). Although all group's posts were analysed daily from late 2014 to the present time and initially this material was collected manually, to ensure that the collection would be consistently done through the three groups throughout the year 2015, the abovementioned application was used, which generates reliable outputs in a standardised way.

After having the lists with all the posts of each of the groups in the year 2015 (see appendices 5, 6, 7), the same categorisation system described above was applied, and

the results can be found in chapter 9. The identification of positive and negative words was also performed as described above to determine the tone of each post, and the results can also be found in Chapter 9. The next step was to use the word counter; this time, since there are no headlines in Facebook posts and they usually have a much smaller word count than a full article, the full posts were reviewed to get the most used words (appendices 8, 9 and 10). As with newspaper material, this analysis resulted in word clouds, which can be found in Chapter 9.

An extra step was taken in analysing the content of social networks, which was the identification, not only of the central theme of the post, but also of its purpose. The following categories have been identified: denunciation, criticism, warnings to the residents and services.

1. Denunciation: any posts containing condemnation of events within the favela, the most common of which are of police violence and abandonment of the favelas by the government (infrastructure problems and substandard housing, open sewage, lack of doctors in the health centre).
2. Criticism: posts containing criticisms, most commonly directed at the Police, government agencies and the mainstream media.
3. Warnings to the residents: posts alerting residents to dangerous situations, especially police operations and shootings.
4. Services: posts publicising events in the favela including date, place and time, lost and found, lost animals, missing persons, miscellaneous ads.

7.3 Virtual ethnography? – considerations of my ethnographic observation of the virtual interactions of favela residents

During the planning of the research, specifically during the studies that would lead me to decide the best methodological approach to address the research objectives, I came across the necessity of immersion in the virtual environment where I could observe the work of the favela mediactivists and their interaction with other residents. Such immersion would bring inputs that would help me understand the role of social networks in issues of empowerment, voice, and space.

Initially, as I would adopt critical ethnography for the field research, it seemed natural to adopt the same methodology, adapted to the virtual environment, which led me to look for methodological alternatives to perform ethnographic research in the virtual environment, to which I now turn. First, one must bear in mind the fact that ethnography can be both “a process and method of qualitative research (someone conducts an ethnography)” and that it can be considered “a product (the result of this process is an ethnography) whose purpose is cultural interpretation” (Evans, 2010, p11). The ethnographic process would have as its purpose the production of “dense descriptions of social practices of individuals or networks of individuals (collectivities)” (Polivanov, 2013, p62). The ethnographer, in this scenario, has a role that goes far beyond reporting or describing what he/she observes, as he/she must contextualise and explain the dynamics observed, in order to understand different aspects of the individual/community studied.

Although some authors argue that one should use only the term ethnography even for online research, it is possible to find different terms related to the ethnographic process in the virtual field, with subtle differences in the understanding of the ethnographic process applied to this environment, with the main terminologies being adopted “Netnography”, “virtual ethnography”, “webnography” and “cyber-anthropology”. Polivanov (2013) points out that one of the pioneers of the field, Christine Hine, uses the term “Virtual Ethnography”, publishing a book of the same title in 2000, which proposes two perspectives on understanding the virtual environment. The first one understands the internet as a place per se and interprets it as a space independent of the offline world. The second proposes that the internet is a “product of culture: a technology that has been produced by private individuals with contextually situated goals and priorities” (Hine, 2000, p9). Therefore, unlike the first perspective, the position adopted here is that the internet is considered only a part of, or an aspect of culture, and even considering it as a place per se, there is an integration of online and offline environments.

In reflecting on the two propositions, the second has more points of convergence with the phenomenon previously observed by other authors (Custódio 2016, Maia 2017,

Lopes and Alves 2011) in the favelas: the internet, specifically social networks, are an extension of real life, an environment where, unlike the real world, they find space to fight and to make themselves heard. The fight of the residents takes place in the real and virtual environment, in a way that is often interconnected, in which in the streets of the favelas the residents are “armed” with their cameras and cell phones, ready to document the events of daily life, and later to use social networks to report, discuss and criticise these events, as well as to organise collectively for events and protests in the real world. Thus, the virtual communities of favela residents (pages and groups) can be seen as an element of culture that not only dialogues with other non-virtual aspects but also provides means of integration between the two environments, when they use the space to organise themselves to a protest in the streets of the city, for example.

Still, according to Polivanov (2013), the central question in defining terminology, in this case, is the consideration — or not — of the cyberspace as a “place”:

“Once we think of cyberspace as a place where people do things, we can begin to study exactly what they do, and because, in their terms, they do so” (Hine, 2000, apud Polivanov, 2013, p66).

Thus, when considering the cyberspace a place of fact, it is necessary to rethink some notions, from the very definition of field, that can be a forum or a social network site, for example, where the “field” becomes “text in a screen” (Evans, 2010) to how the researcher collects data and interacts with that online community. Nevertheless, the procedures that sediment ethnography need to be preserved, such as the immersion of the researcher in the environment he/she wishes to study and participant observation. Kozinets's definition of “ethnography on the Internet” gives us a synthesis of this debate by defining it as “a new qualitative research methodology that adapts ethnographic research techniques to the study of cultures and communities emerging through communications mediated by computer” (Kozinets, 2002, p2).

Finally, it is also essential to observe the multi-method feature of virtual ethnography; Polivanov (2013), citing Braga (2006) and Fragoso, Recuero and Amaral (2011) explain that ethnographic research often requires a combination of “theoretical-methodological”

techniques and contributions in order to enrich research by obtaining complementary data. This characteristic was a determining factor in the choice for it since this thesis approach also includes Critical Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis.

The period of immersion in these virtual environments — Facebook pages of the groups Maré Vive, Coletivo Papo Reto and Voz da Comunidade — began on December 3, 2014, and lasted until December 21, 2017. During this period, I examined daily the posts made by the administrators of the pages, as well as the reactions of the followers, the comments and discussions that followed.

During this research, the aim was to observe trying to interfere as little as possible, although agreeing with Braga's (2006) definition that all ethnographic observation is participant and that the ethnographer's job includes “participate, observe, describe: categories that form the unity of the ethnographic making” (Braga, 2006, p5). In this case, even small interactions like eventual “likes” and the fact of being present in the group are considered participation (Braga, 2006).

My daily routine included visiting the three pages early in the morning and again at the end of the day, at times ranging from 8 to 11 in the morning and 5 to 7 in the evening. The process was always the same: I would go on the page and scroll to the last publication visualised in the previous visit, I would then read each of the new posts, their simple interactions (likes, shares, reactions) and their comments and unfoldings (discussion) in the comments field, making the appropriate notes.

During these three years participating in these virtual communities, I was able to follow several critical events such as the death of Eduardo de Jesus³³, the case of Alan and Chauan (discussed in Chapter 10), a coup that toppled President Dilma Rousseff³⁴, the violently repressed protests (such as those in 2015 at Complexo do Alemão), and the

³³ For a news report in the case:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/11/world/americas/no-charges-against-rio-police-in-fatal-shooting-of-10-year-old-boy.html>

³⁴ More information: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/31/dilma-rousseff-impeachment-brazil-what-you-need-to-know>

cloning of the Maré Vive page and death threats received by its administrators³⁵. In addition, these three years of daily participation were instrumental in building my understanding of the complex relationships between residents and the media, traffickers, the State and the Police, as well as the very relationship of these same residents with and among activists.

7.4 Selecting the favelas and the media activists

Rio de Janeiro has more than 1000 favelas³⁶. It was necessary to define with which favelas to work to make possible the collection of material online since it would be impossible to follow, collect and analyse content from residents of all favelas in the city. At first, I thought of going back to the favela of the neighbourhood where I grew up, the favela that I saw every day in the comings and goings of life, the favela that always aroused in me curiosity and a particular fascination — the favela of Vigário Geral. However, the relevance of this favela in relation to one of this thesis concerns, the police violence supported by the lack of voice of the favela residents, was not proportional to my desire to do the research in my backyard. The favela, that was the scene of one of the most barbaric episodes of police violence in the country³⁷ and is still quite violent nowadays, was not in the epicentre of the discussions on the subject for a few years and did not yet have a UPP.

Observing the most recent cases of police violence and analysing their repercussion in the media, I concluded that the first factor in choosing the favela (s) to be studied would be to have a UPP in their territory. The second factor was violence. First to, to some extent, test the hypothesis that even under a shower of bullets the favelas still do not receive the due attention of the media and public power. And secondly because, historically, the mainstream media, which notably has the Police itself as the primary source, do not discuss police violence critically. Therefore, by choosing a place where

³⁵ https://www.vice.com/pt_br/article/nzjqg8/na-favela-da-mare-um-celular-poe-mais-medo-que-um-fuzil

³⁶ For more information on numbers and size of the favelas:
<https://oglobo.globo.com/rio/apos-quatro-anos-de-queda-favelas-voltam-crescer-no-rio-de-janeiro-21596827>

³⁷ The Vigário geral Massacre

violence and Police are strongly tied, could give me more opportunities to study the residents fighting for space and voice in the virtual field. The third and final factor was the size of the favela. In the city, we have incredibly crowded favelas, favelas complexes that are equivalent to whole neighbourhoods and we also have small favelas, settlements with only 50, 100 families. For purposes of representativeness, this means that when studying a favela with a massive population it is more likely to find more active individuals online, making research more productive, with different perspectives from different groups or individuals. Finally, one last thing to notice is that I chose to leave aside the favelas of the Southern Zone, which receive differentiated attention from the media because they are in a wealthy area.

With these criteria in mind, I came to the two favela complexes studied in this research: The Complexo do Alemão and the Complexo da Maré.

The Complexo do Alemão hosted one of the most significant media events related to the UPPs in Rio de Janeiro: the favela's takeover by the Police in 2010 for its installation. The event was also responsible for making known the community newspaper Voz da Comunidade. The complex, located in the northern part of the city, is made up of 13 favelas (Abreu, 2013) and home to 69 thousand people³⁸ who, even after the installation of the UPP, continue to live a routine of violence and almost daily shootings. In July 2014, there was at least one on-site shooting daily³⁹.

The Maré Complex, also in the North Zone, is the most massive favela complex in Rio de Janeiro, made up of 16 favelas and home to 130,000 people⁴⁰. The Complex, which is considered a neighbourhood since 1994, also lives a routine of violence and death. What made me turn my attention to Maré was a unique opportunity: the favelas were, since 2014, occupied by the Army and were preparing for the transition from the Army

³⁸ Source: Census IBGE 2010

³⁹ For more information on violence within the Complexo do Alemão in 2014: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2014/08/1495250-com-maior-upp-do-rio-alemao-volta-a-rotina-de-tiroteios-e- trafico.shtml>

⁴⁰ Source: Census IBGE 2010

to the Military Police in 2015 and to receive the UPP⁴¹ — I could, therefore, monitor in real time this transition and installation of the UPPs under the two perspectives: that of the mainstream media and that of the residents through social networks.

Having decided on the favelas that would be part of the study, I turned to the choice of the media activists and looked for the most active groups of residents on Facebook at that time. Therefore, this study will present data from the Coletivo Papo Reto (Complexo do Alemão), Voz da Comunidade (Complexo do Alemão) and Maré Vive (Maré), which I will discuss in detail in chapter 9.

7.5 Selecting the newspapers

The first criteria in the choice of newspapers were circulation and target audience. The existence of a collection available online, updated every day, was the last factor due to the fact that I was researching Brazil living outside Brazil and needed a reliable source of material.

The *O Globo* newspaper, a very traditional and with the largest circulation in the city, besides being a recognised influencer and one of the three papers of greater distribution in the country, was the first obvious choice not only because it has the greater circulation in the city, but also because of how relevant it is. According to *INFOGLOBO*'s website⁴², with 1.194.000 readers and 352.516 copies printed on Sundays, *O Globo*'s public is mostly from classes⁴³ A and B (65% of the readers) and 39% of its readers have a higher education diploma.

The second newspaper chosen according to the criteria was *EXTRA*. Although I initially thought about choosing *O Dia*, of similar circulation and target, that newspaper did not have options for full online consultation, online archive or subscription, making remote

⁴¹ For more information on the occupation of the Maré by the Army and installation of the UPP: <http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2014/04/forcas-armadas-assumem-ocupacao-de-15-comunidades-da-mare-rio.html>

⁴² Information on O Globo:

<https://www.infoglobo.com.br/Anuncie/ProdutosDetalhe.aspx?IdProduto=91>

⁴³ Social classes in Brazil are defined by a system of points ranging from A (highest) to E (lowest), where C is the middle class.

research impossible. The *EXTRA* newspaper, also according to *INFOGLOBO*⁴⁴, has 1.300.000 readers and 157.188 copies printed on Sundays. Its audience is mainly of class C (58%), with another 25% of its readers belonging to class B and 15% to class DE. Only 2% of readers belong to class A.

The tabloids, such as ‘*Meia Hora*’ and ‘*Expresso*’, for example, of increasing popularity in the favelas and peripheries, did not have, in 2014, a digital archive or subscription that would allow the consultation at any time of the complete editions, so they were not included in the research.

7.6 Challenges in the field work and other considerations

In November 2016 I went to Rio de Janeiro to visit the favelas of the Complexo do Alemão and Maré to observe the daily life of the mediactivists and residents and to conduct interviews. Just a few days after my arrival, a Military Police helicopter crashed during an operation in the Cidade de Deus favela, killing four police officers⁴⁵.

Although further investigations have pointed out that what caused the crash was a mechanical failure, the initial suspicion that the helicopter had been overthrown by traffickers using antiaircraft weaponry generated a wave of violence — especially police violence — in the City of God, which spread through the city and reached the Complexo do Alemão and Maré. On December 5, Nirza de Paula Rocha, 51, was hit in the head and killed inside her own home in Complexo do Alemão⁴⁶. At Maré, police operations left a trail of dead and injured during the following weeks⁴⁷.

⁴⁴ Information on EXTRA:

<https://www.infoglobo.com.br/Anuncie/ProdutosDetalhe.aspx?IdProduto=92>

⁴⁵ More information on the helicopter crash and the subsequent wave of violence: <http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2016/11/apos-queda-de-helicoptero-policia-faz-operacao-na-cidade-de-deus-rio.html>

⁴⁶ More information on the wave of violence in the Complexo do Alemão: <https://extra.globo.com/casos-de-policia/moradora-morta-durante-tiroteio-no-alemao-panico-relatado-na-web-20591109.html>

⁴⁷ On 21/11/2016: <https://extra.globo.com/casos-de-policia/acao-da-pm-na-mare-tem-mortos-feridos-presos-20509903.html>, on 02/12/2016: <https://extra.globo.com/casos-de-policia/tiroteio-no-complexo-da-mare-deixa-feridos-assusta-motoristas-em-vias->

The first visits to the Complexo do Alemão went well, even in the tense atmosphere. It was an exploratory visit, and I would not do any interviews formally at that first moment, dedicated solely to my familiarisation with that territory I had never visited before. I found the resident who would accompany me on the corner of *Joaquim de Queiroz* and *Itarare* Road, which I knew well. In two visits, we covered the favelas of *Nova Brasília*, *Grota*, *Itararé* and *Morro do Alemão*.

On the third visit, on December 2, I would again meet the resident on *Itararé* Road, and then on foot again go to *Nova Brasília* and then to *Morro do Adeus*. However, even before I reached the resident who would accompany me that day I was approached by the Military Police that guarded the entrance of the favela and asked about the reason for my visit. After a brief explanation, I was advised not to enter the favela at that moment because, according to him, there was an operation in progress and “then nobody takes responsibility for your safety”. Feeling uneasy about my own safety, I decided to come back another day.

We rescheduled the visit for the 5th of December, and I took the opportunity to contact and try to schedule my conversation with the Voz da Comunidade organizers. When I was on the way, however, my contact called me saying not to appear there because a resident had died that morning. It was Nirza de Paula Rocha, known as Dona Neném. The next day, the PM again approached me at Rua Joaquim de Queiroz advising me not to enter because “a chapa está quente” — meaning it was very dangerous. The policeman was smiling, but casually added he remembered me “from that other day.”

Meanwhile, I had already scheduled a meeting with Maré Vive activists for December 7th. I would meet one of them (it was not disclaimed who exactly when I contacted them) at the footbridge 6 in Avenida Brasil, in front of Fio Cruz and from there we would enter Maré walking. However, I was still quite insecure after the previous events and decided to seek guidance with my supervisor, who advised me to prioritise my safety. I then decided to cancel the trip to Maré and wait a few days to observe how the

expressas-do-rio-20576881.html , on 13/12/2016: <https://extra.globo.com/casos-de-policia/homem-morre-durante-operacao-da-pm-no-complexo-da-mare-20640526.html>

conflicts would unfold in both locations. I ended up returning to England shortly after that without making any further visits or interviews.

Faced with the frustrated field research, I decided, after meeting with my supervisor, to use another approach and conduct the semi-structured interviews online through Skype. I did a total of 19 interviews, which could only be divulged without identifying the source, of the 46 intended when I had to stop and rethink the collection of this material again.

The interviews, although aimed at the use of the Internet, mobile and social networks; to the consumption of newspapers, magazines and television news and the relation of the residents with the media, inevitably wandered to the everyday life in the favelas and especially to the violence and death of innocents. I have heard reports of people who have lost friends or family, people who are afraid to leave and come back from work, people who spend their day at work worried about their children at school or at home in the favela, people who are approached and humiliated by the police. Absolutely all the interviewees reported fear and distrust of the Police. At one point these interviews affected me in such a way that I did not feel entitled to use, even scientifically, data from all that pain. I kept doing the interviews and analysing the content, but the feeling that something was out of place remained, and I started to ask myself if my involvement was affecting my judgement concerning those interviews.

The idea of completely abandoning interviews began to make sense when the first interviewer called me through WhatsApp asking me to delete all the material from his interview. He was scared to have said something that would identify him and said that things were “too complicated” in the favela, he wanted me to guarantee that I would discard his interview. He was the first of a total of six interviewees, all from Complexo do Alemão, to ask me to delete the interview, leaving me, at a certain point, with only thirteen of the nineteen performed.

At that point, I met with my second supervisor Dr. Hanska and, analysing all the material collected, decided that the interviews would not be part of the work directly and that I would not include the thirteen remaining interviews transcriptions in the body

of the text but could, if necessary, use an excerpt or another, without identifying the resident, as agreed.

It is important to emphasise here that although the interviews have been left out of the final work, they have brought invaluable insights for the present research and marked me deeply as a researcher.

Besides the interviews that did not happen as initially planned, I was also faced with other limitations to the design of this research. The main one being the access to printed material on mainstream media, due to the fact I was based in the United Kingdom.

During the preliminary research to work on a research project, I have included the tabloids among the newspapers to be analysed, because this format of newspaper has proven to be very popular within the favelas. However, none of the tabloids in Rio had an online collection available in late 2014, and it was impossible to have access to all the physical editions of the year of 2015 —the year I collected data — which forced me to change my research project and remove the tabloids.

7.6.1 Being from there but not really

I grew up in a poor suburb of Rio, Vigário Geral. My house was one of the last before the entrance of the Furquim Mendes Favela. The routine of shots and police cars was constant, many times the armed police stood in the gate of my house, watching the movement of people and vehicles to and from the favela. But I lived outside the favela. As close as I was to the favela, no matter how much we shared the same routine of violence, it was still outside the favela. And because I was out of the favela, I would never fully understand what was going on inside. “Inside”, that's how all the people talked about the favela in my neighbourhood in the '90s and early 2000s. And what happened “inside” to those who were “outside” (and here we find another version of the favela x ‘asphalt’) was a mixture of reports of the residents with what was in the media. Therefore, if I was getting information through the media, it was impossible not to have a view of the favela influenced by the dominant representation broadcasted, and as a critical researcher, it is necessary to recognise this influence.

Additionally, there is the fact that I am from Rio suburban area and lived my entire life near the favelas, but I am now doing my research from England. Custódio (2016, p44) defined this movement of researching a subject “back home” while based abroad as being a “local outsider”. This condition would bring me some advantages and many other disadvantages.

The first most obvious advantage is the ease of transit in these territories and of contacting people engaged in activism in the favelas. There is also the inherent knowledge of the resident of the city, that acquired with the experience of years, with the day to day in the suburbs. Know how to identify signs such as the low beacon when entering a neighbourhood near the favela or the hands in the wheel while passing by a blitz or police officers near the favelas. Knowing the city, its dynamics and polarities is undoubtedly an advantage.

On the other hand, being white and from outside the favelas, I would face a certain mistrust of the residents and the activists, who sometimes reported being tired of the academics going to the favelas and studying them like animals at the zoo and then doing nothing good for them. Custódio (2016, p42) also noted this distance and resistance to academics among favela dwellers.

Another problem faced is the influence of the favela's media representation in my own image of them, as well as the impact of the social environment that, although a poor suburban neighbourhood, supported a biased and divided view of what happened inside the favela and “out here” in the neighbourhood, as discussed in the Introduction. So even though I have tried, over the years, to get away from this perception of the favelas, it is impossible, without ever having lived in one, to fully excerpt the ingrained notions of years and years of information through the media. Once again, I seek support in Custódio's (20016) experience, which also reports having been influenced by his perception of the favelas:

“I also build my perception of favelas from the predominantly negative representations of their realities.” (Custódio, 2016, p44)

8 The favela under the mainstream media perspective

“Whatever we know about our society, or indeed about the world in which we live, we know through the mass media.” (Luhmann, 2000, p.1)

Since the first appearance of the favela in mainstream media, the narrative was already loaded with prejudice, as discussed in chapter 1. In this chapter, the objective is to expose the data collected throughout the research in the two chosen newspapers: O Globo and Extra, to shed some light in the nuances of favela representation in mainstream media. For this, it is necessary to understand better the field of the companies of Communication that dominate the information production of mainstream media in Brazil, and especially the relations of media and power, to which I turn now.

First, what does it mean to have power? Power, in a general way, is the ability to affect the other and make him act according to one's intentions, even against his own interests. However, this is a simplistic view since notions of power go much further and permeate our life in society. Weber (1968) defines power as:

“The chance of a man or of a number of men to realise their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the same action.” (Weber, 1968, p.926)

Thus, considering the role of the media in contemporary society, it is not difficult to observe how it exerts its power over society by influencing decisions, crystallising concepts, strengthening or undermining ideologies and manipulating public opinion according to the interests of large conglomerates. The cultural industry (Horkheimer

and Adorno, 1972) has become a means of subjecting consciousness and knowledge to a mercantilist logic, idiotizing the masses who begin to act even against their own interests. Thus, a series of problems arise due to the action of the mainstream media as perpetrators of the dominant ideologies and maintainers of the status quo. One of them is that although we are aware that the media is essential for a democratic system since information is essential to democracy, we usually ignore that the media also generate problems for the same democratic system as well, because the outlets act in the interests of big business owners and not of the people, for example. Price (1997) argues that it is quite clear that media are “sources of ideological discourse” (*Ibid*, p73) and explain that the choice of words and image, for example, can be used to suggest one particular interpretation. He goes on defending that the “the danger lies in imagining that a pure' form of discourse can be constructed” (*Ibid*) and that discourse can only influence an audience by “taking into account the beliefs of the target group” (*Ibid*).

Agenda-setting theory, admittedly one of the ways in which the media manipulates public opinion, was created in 1922 by Walter Lippman and suggests a causal relationship between the media agenda and the public agenda. Pena (2005) reports that Lippman argues in his work “Public Opinion” that the media is the main link of events itself with the images of these same events that we keep in our mind. For example, it is likely that by thinking of 9/11 you will remember the image of the second plane crashing into the towers. This is because this image was transmitted over and over and we ended up relating the event itself to the image conveyed by the media.

Also, according to the theory, people tend to find more important the issues that are highlighted in the media, which thus has the power to schedule the public conversation through the selection of what is news and what is not, of how highlighted a subject will be, in addition to the nuances through which the events are presented. According to Hall (1973, p181), “of the millions of events which occur daily in the world, only a tiny proportion ever become visible as ‘potential news stories’: and of this proportion, only a small fraction are actually produced as the day’s news in the news media”. Therefore, we can assume that it is possible to influence public opinion through the agenda, that is, deciding whether that event becomes news and how it becomes news, the tone, the

images associated with it, making it possible, for example, to prevent the decision from happening preventing it from becoming a problem in the first place. Thus, “the press serves as a shaping agent of knowledge, using stereotypes as a simplified and distorted way of understanding reality” (Pena, 2005, p144).

To what this research is concerned, it is vital to understand the agenda-setting not only as a way of scheduling the subjects that will gain public attention but also as a tool capable of manipulating the public's perception of a situation, a person, social group or even a country. Note that who owns the media is who has the power in this relationship, because it is who decides the media agenda, consequently, directly influences the public agenda. Thus the media become able to shape an event so that the public accepts or rejects a particular situation, supports controversial decisions and even supports measures that go against their own interests for not realising it:

“Those who own the media outlets go so far as to define others, to define certain social groups as being better or worse, trustworthy or unreliable, all according to the interests of the powerful. [...] public opinion is fed with information about certain populations in such a way that this may even justify an invasion of an opposing country. [...] It is not difficult, later, to legitimise an invasion or retaliation against populations that, for the great majority, are criminal and violent.” (Guareschi, 1993, p15)

This can explain the support of the population to police brutality in the favelas, as discussed in chapter 3, for example.

It is also necessary to reflect on the choice of words; not only the decision to report but how to report is a tool in the exercise of power. In the context of violence in Rio de Janeiro, for example, reasonably neutral words such as “suspect” gain negative connotation: the media says “drug trafficking suspect”, the public reads “trafficker”. No wonder, it is a rare event to witness the use of the term when talking about the most favoured layer of society. The media has been fulfilling its role of maintaining the status quo and while portraying the favela and its residents as criminals routinely, when it speaks of the middle and upper classes it avoids negative labels and accusations, even if

the situation is absurd. Recently, two headlines only ten days apart drew attention: the first one read “POLICE ARREST TRAFFICKER WITH 10KG OF MARIJUANA IN FORTALEZA”. Ten days later, the same outlet stated: “POLICE ARREST MIDDLE-CLASS YOUTHS WITH 300KG OF MARIJUANA IN RIO.” Not even the absurd amount of 300kg of marijuana was enough to grant the medium class criminals the same treatment every favela resident receives from the media.

17/03/2015 08h58 - Atualizado em 17/03/2015 08h58

Polícia prende traficante com 10 quilos de maconha em Fortaleza

Polícia encontrou R\$ 10 mil em cédulas de R\$ 2 e uma pistola 380. Ele foi autuado em flagrante por tráfico de drogas e porte ilegal de arma.

Figure 7 - G1 on 17/03/2015⁴⁸

27/03/2015 10h21 - Atualizado em 27/03/2015 20h29

Polícia prende jovens de classe média com 300 kg de maconha no Rio

Eles foram presos num estacionamento de um prédio na Tijuca. Delegado tenta identificar outros integrantes da quadrilha

Figure 8 - G1 on 27/03/2015⁴⁹

Another point to consider when talking about media and power is Media ownership. According to the Media Ownership Monitor⁵⁰ only 26 corporate groups own the top 50 news outlets in Brazil. There is no efficient mechanism in the country for preventing the monopoly of information and prohibiting the control of various media, such as radio,

⁴⁸ For the article in Portuguese: <http://g1.globo.com/ceara/noticia/2015/03/policia-prende-trafficante-com-10-quilos-de-maconha-em-fortaleza.html>

⁴⁹ For the article in Portuguese: <http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2015/03/policia-prende-jovens-de-classe-media-com-300-kg-de-maconha-no-rio.html>

⁵⁰ Media Ownership Monitor: <https://www.mom-rsf.org/en/countries/brazil/>

TV, newspaper, publishers and online portals, by the same group. According to Moraes, Ramonet and Serrano (2013, p53)

“the mega media groups hold the ownership of the means of production, the technological infrastructure and the logistic bases as part of a system that skillfully regulates the processes of material and immaterial production.”

That way, we have a scenario where two or three large groups dominate the audience in various media, offering a flood of content produced according to a house style that favours the interests of these groups themselves and their allies. A perfect scenario to the exercise of power in favour of the dominant social ideology:

“Under the power of monopoly, every mass culture is identical, and its skeleton, the conceptual bone manufactured by it begins to delineate. The leaders are no longer very interested in covering it up, and its power is strengthened the more brutally it is confessed in public. (...) They define themselves as an industry, and the published figures of the incomes of their general directors suppress all doubt as to the social necessity of their products.” (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1985, p. 114)

The two newspapers that were chosen for the present research are owned by Grupo Globo, which is ranked 19th in the world ranking of media conglomerates. They also own the 'Rede Globo', first in audience in the country, 'Globo.com', the largest Brazilian news portal, the newspaper 'O Globo', one of the most important in the country (and presented in this research), and 'Agência O Globo (AOG)', one of the leading news agencies in the country as well as other companies of great relevance in the editorial, phonographic, cinematographic and radio areas. The group undoubtedly has the highest national reach among the country's media groups. In fact, according to data from Media ownership Monitor⁵¹, “with so many markets dominated, the group alone reaches a higher audience than the combined audiences of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th largest Brazilian groups.”

⁵¹ Accessed on 17/01/2018: <https://www.mom-rsf.org/en/countries/brazil/>

This scenario is very worrying when we reflect on the impact that can be caused by the absence of plurality in the production and distribution of news; a monopoly distributing the same content and its ideological nuances across all types of media, reaching several audiences and reaching 100 million Brazilians, half the population. In 1989, for example, Rede Globo broadcaster had a controversial and anti-ethical participation in the Presidential run. The candidates Lula and Collor were technically tied, according to the polls and faced one last live debate. In the next day, Rede Globo, broadcasted in the 'Jornal Nacional' - The television news with the largest audience in the country - an edition of more than 6 minutes with the “best moments” of the debate, clearly favouring the candidate Collor. In addition to the edited video itself, comments were made by the host, and a “telephone survey” that pointed to Collor as the absolute winner of the debate was presented. Lula's party appealed, requesting that a fair edition was broadcasted, but lost. A few days later Collor won the election with 53% of the vote — only to step down two years later and be impeached for corruption after a wave of protests hit the streets of the country. What would be the result of the elections without that event? Although this has been discussed over the years in Brazil, we will never have a concrete answer to this question. However, the point is that the mainstream media power to influence is very evident, especially considering the scenario where the market is dominated by large conglomerates that reach a very high population through a thick media mesh conveying news items according to their interests.

8.1 Tales of violence: The hegemony of violence in the news about the favelas

As it has already been discussed in chapter 5, although the narrative about the favelas has not always been that of a violent place, it has been associated with rogues and vagabonds since its inception. After the end of the 1990s, violence began to gain prominence in the journalistic coverage of the favela, and a survey carried out by Vaz and Baiense (2011) showed that in 2010 the narrative of the favela as a violent place became hegemonic.

Here this thesis proposes to make an analysis of the subjects addressed by the newspapers when reporting the favela and the attention that each of these subjects had

in relation to the global number of articles in an attempt to identify the main narrative about the favela in these outlets. To that end, I analysed and categorised all the articles that had the favela as a central subject in the year 2015 in the following categories, already explained in depth in chapter 7: Violence (including Police violence), culture, social inequality, government actions and favelas history, life in the favelas and general.

Eight hundred fifty articles were published, having the favela as the central theme in both newspapers in 2015, 397 in O Globo and 453 in EXTRA. In the first half of 2015, the only month in which violence was not the main narrative for the favelas in the newspaper O Globo was January, the month in which the Culture category had the highest number of articles, eight out of a total of 22, 36.36%. In the other months, violence was the dominant narrative of favelas. It is possible to see the significant escalation of the category in April when conflicts in the Complexo do Alemão intensified and killed residents, as the boy Eduardo de Jesus, ten years, assassinated by the Police. The case had international repercussions and much space in the national media.

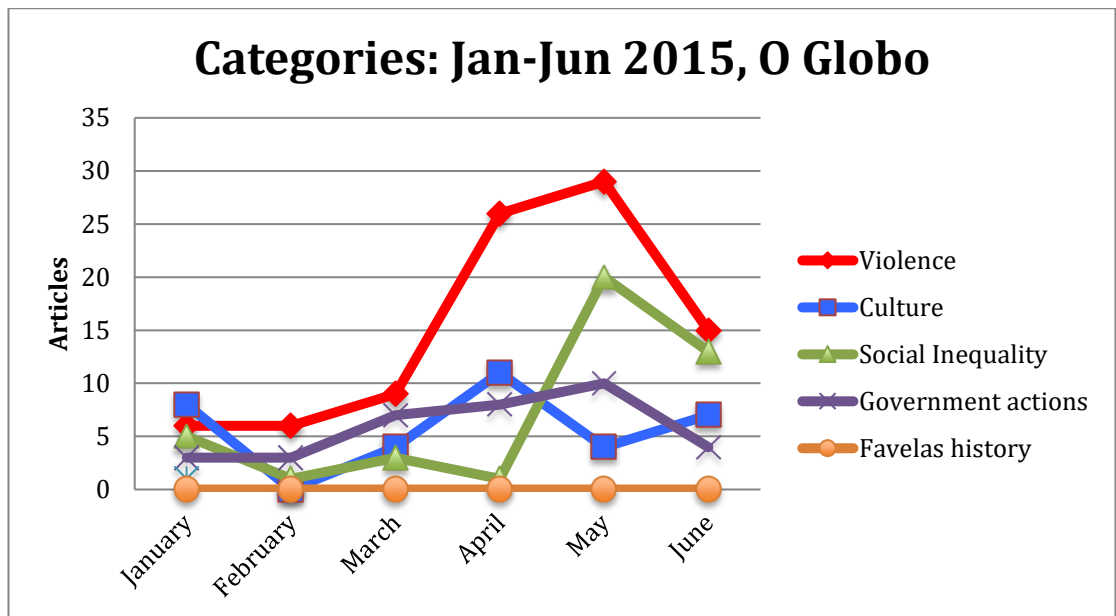


Figure 9 - Categories Jan-Jun/2015 O Globo chart

	January	February	March	April	May	June
Violence	6	6	9	26	29	15
Culture	8	0	4	11	4	7
Social Inequality	5	1	3	1	20	13
Government actions	3	3	7	8	10	4
Favelas history	0	0	0	0	0	0
General	0	0	0	0	0	0
Life in the favelas	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 2 - Categories Jan-Jun/2015 O Globo

In the newspaper EXTRA, surprisingly, the violence was even more prominent. Contrary to my expectation that being a popular paper the space for other subjects would be larger, the narrative about the favela is dominated by violence, which was more prominent in all months of the first semester, while the other categories receive even less attention than in O Globo. Although it devoted more space to the favela than O Globo, of the 44 articles that addressed it centrally in January, for example, 29, or 65.91% were about violence. In O Globo, only 27.2% of the articles about the favela in the same period have violence as the primary approach.

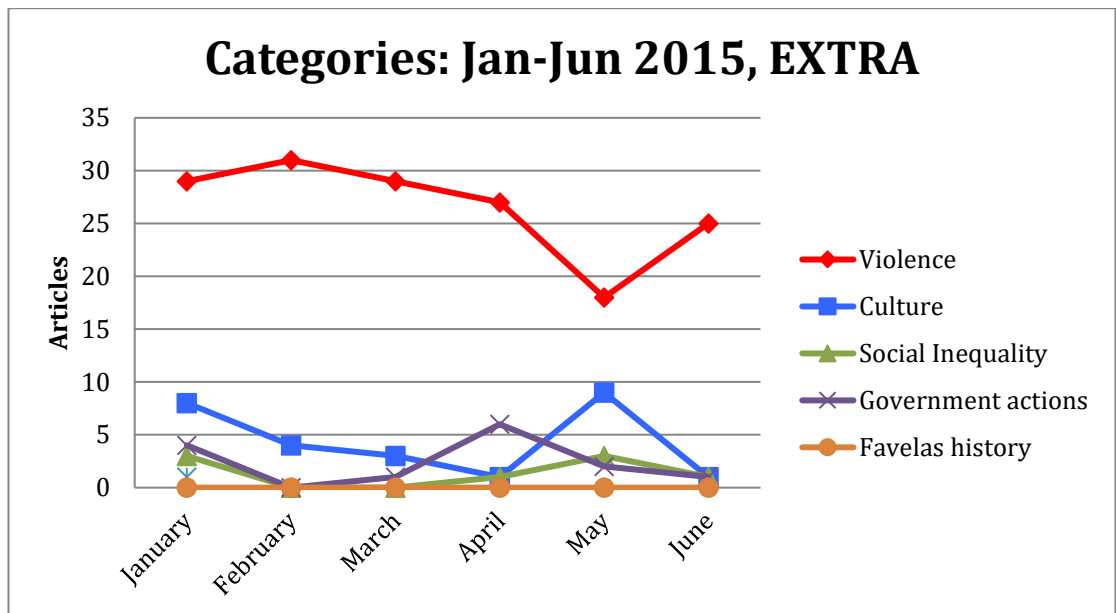


Figure 10 - Categories Jan-Jun/2015 EXTRA

	January	February	March	April	May	June
Violence	29	31	29	27	18	25
Culture	8	4	3	1	9	1
Social Inequality	3	0	0	1	3	1
Government actions	4	0	1	6	2	1
Favelas history	0	0	0	0	0	0
General	0	0	0	0	0	0
Life in the favelas	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 3 - Categories Jan-Jun/2015 EXTRA

The second half of the year followed the same trend. In the newspaper O Globo, the violence distanced itself more from the other categories as the dominant narrative.

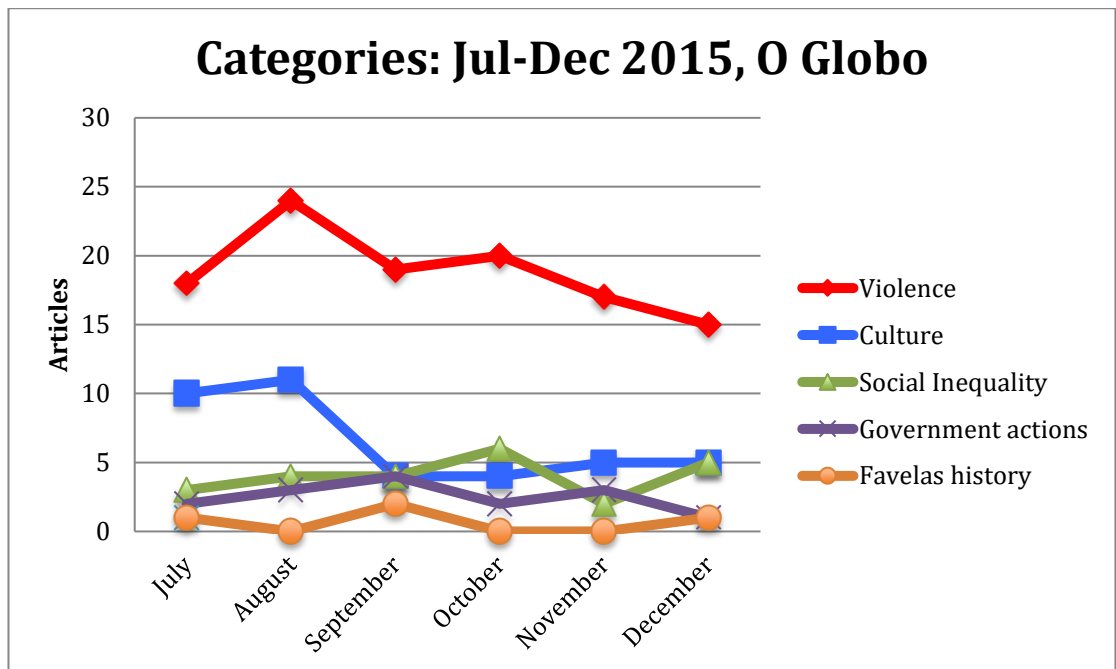


Figure 11: Categories Jul-Dec/2015 O Globo

	July	August	September	October	November	December
Violence	18	24	19	20	17	15
Culture	10	11	4	4	5	5
Social Inequality	3	4	4	6	2	5
Government actions	2	3	4	2	3	1
Favelas history	1	0	2	0	0	1
General	0	0	0	0	0	0
Life in the favelas	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 4: Categories Jul-Dec/2015 O Globo

The newspaper EXTRA maintained the same line of narrative, with news related to violence numerically far superior to other subjects:

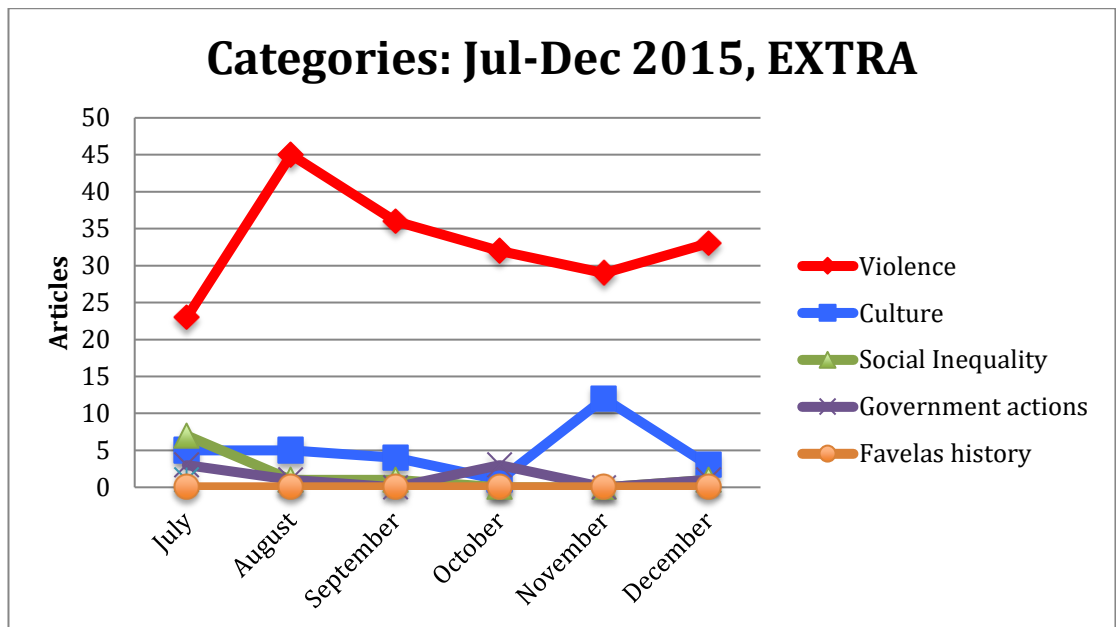


Figure 12: Categories Jul-Dec/2015 EXTRA

	July	August	September	October	November	December
Violence	23	45	36	32	29	33
Culture	5	5	4	1	12	3
Social Inequality	7	1	1	0	0	1
Government actions	3	1	0	3	0	1
Favelas history	0	0	0	0	0	0
General	0	0	0	0	0	0
Life in the favelas	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 5: Categories Jul-Dec/2015 EXTRA

During the analysis of the categories, I also evaluated whether the story took a negative or positive tone by studying the word choice (see appendix 4) — taking into account the use of negative words like violence, death, shooting — and also the general approach of the narrative, drawing an impression positive or negative of the article. Perhaps due to the greater emphasis on culture-related guidelines, January was balanced in O Globo:

50% of the articles positively addressed the favela. In EXTRA, this does not occur in any of the months of 2015, with the negative tone predominating.

Column1	January	February	March	April	May	June
Positive (O Globo)	11	2	8	13	10	12
Negative (O Globo)	11	8	15	33	53	27
Positive (EXTRA)	10	3	4	1	11	1
Negative (EXTRA)	33	32	29	34	21	27

Table 6: Tone, Jan-Jun/2015

In the second semester, there was also a predominance of negative tone: 350 of the 441 articles were negative towards the favela or the events happening in it.

Column1	July	August	September	October	November	December
Positive (O Globo)	11	12	10	5	6	6
Negative (O Globo)	23	30	23	27	20	21
Positive (EXTRA)	7	6	4	3	14	7
Negative (EXTRA)	31	47	37	33	27	31

Table 7: Tone, Jul-Dec/2015

While the two newspapers portray the favela in a predominantly negative way, EXTRA, although aimed at the working class, therefore, more oriented to favela residents, represents it even more negatively than O Globo, with more focus on violence and less space for issues such as culture, as we will see below.

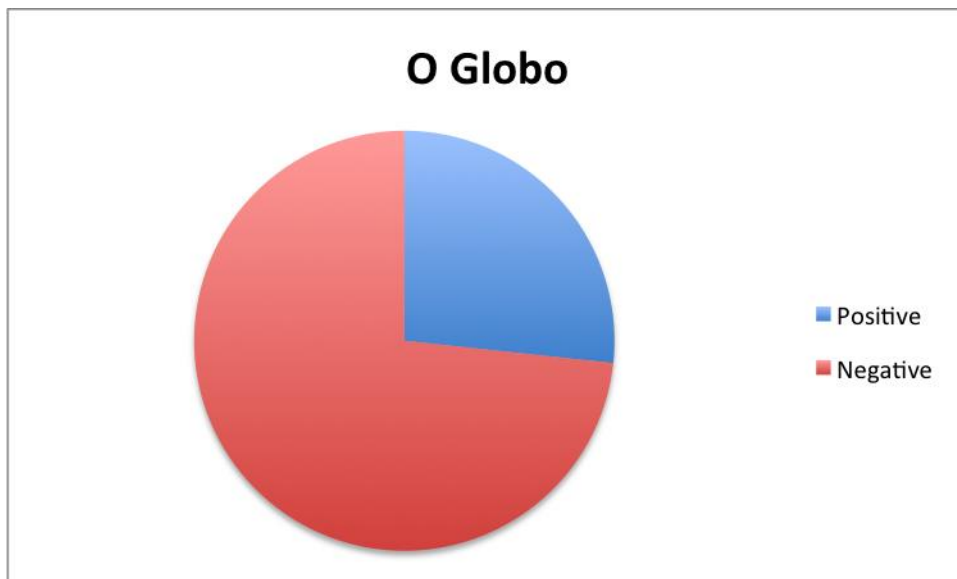


Figure 13: Tone, O Globo 2015

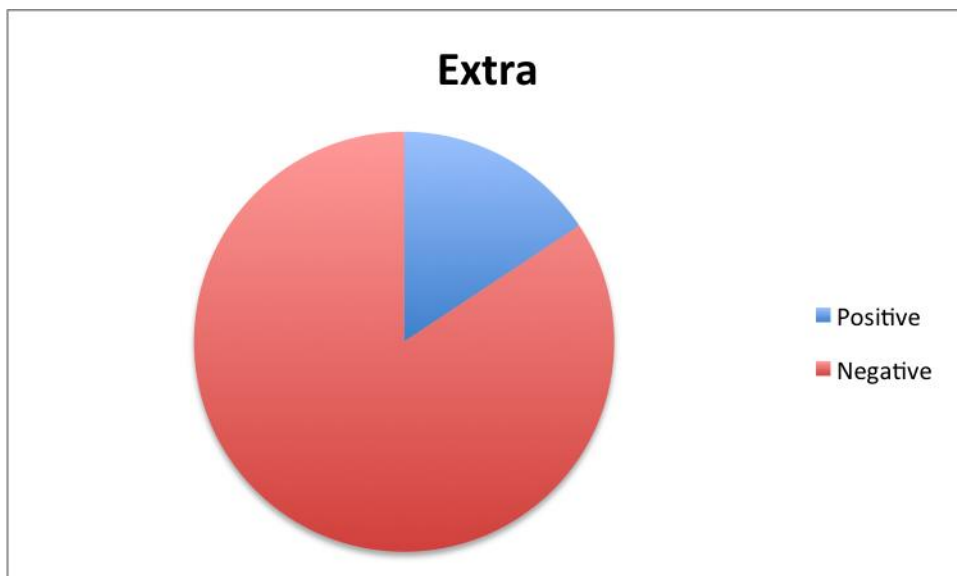


Figure 14: Tone, EXTRA 2015

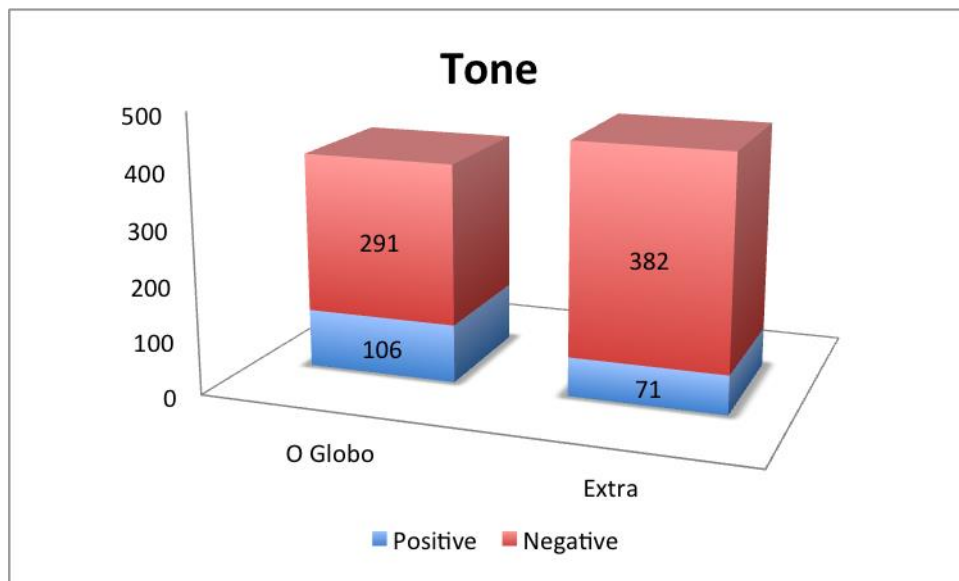


Figure 15: Tone, comparative 2015

When comparing how Violence appears in relation to all other subjects together, it is possible to understand even more clearly the preference for an almost exclusively violent narrative about the favela. In June, for example, the stories about violence were more than eight times the number of all the other categories together in Extra.

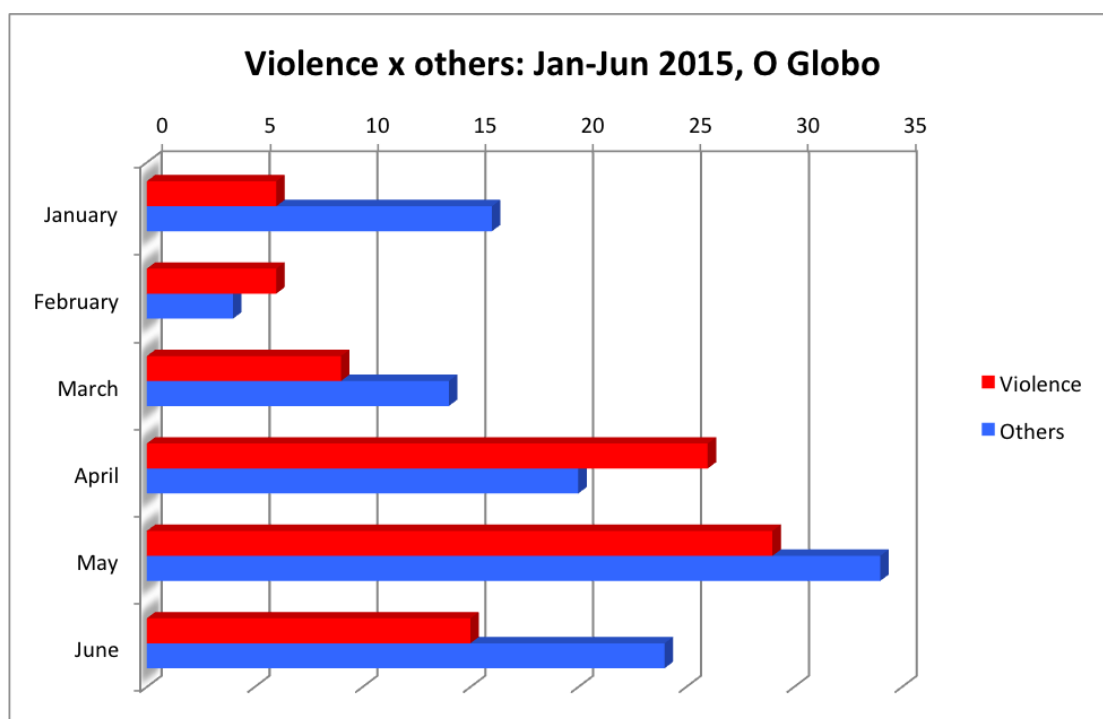


Figure 16: Violence x Other categories, Jan-Jun 2015, O Globo

	January	February	March	April	May	June
Violence	6	6	9	26	29	15
Others	16	4	14	20	34	24

Table 8: Violence x Other categories, Jan-Jun 2015, O Globo

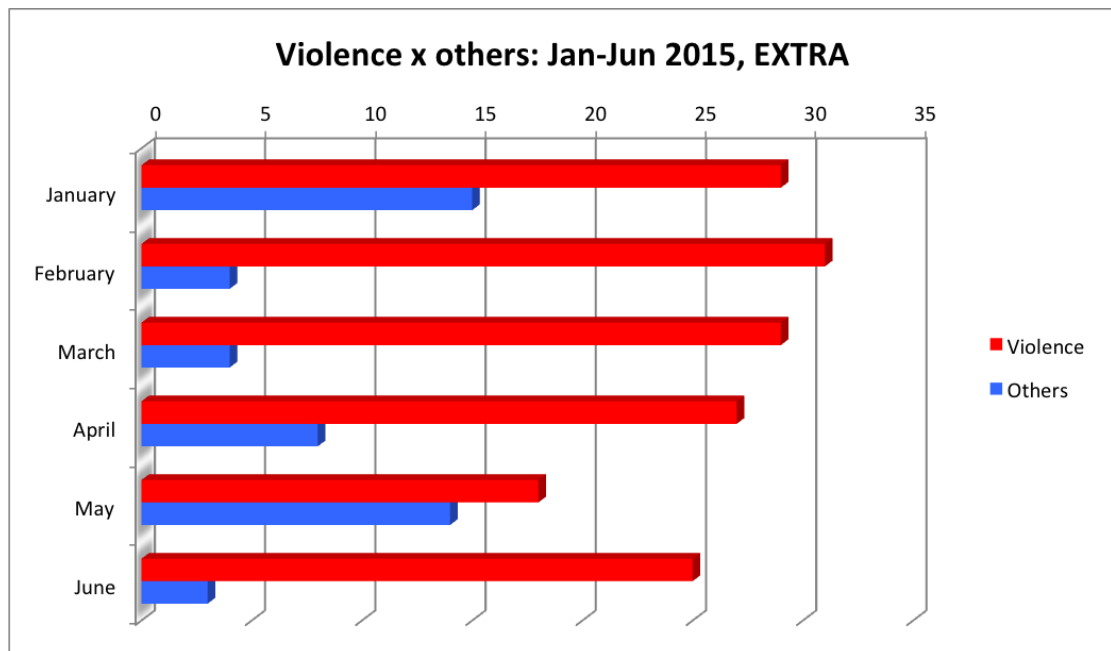


Figure 17: Violence x Other categories, Jan-Jun 2015, EXTRA

	January	February	March	April	May	June
Violence	29	31	29	27	18	25
Others	15	4	4	8	14	3

Table 9: Violence x Other categories, Jan-Jun 2015, EXTRA

At this point, it is necessary to add an observation as a reflection is needed in the discussion chapters. Although there is a large discrepancy between the proportion of the emphasis given to violence and the other categories in the two newspapers, it is necessary to evaluate whether EXTRA gave too much focus to violence in the favelas or if it was O Globo that did not give the due space to the events in it. Violence in the favelas is a reality, and by defending that the media should have a more positive agenda towards it, this thesis is not suggesting that the violence should be ignored.

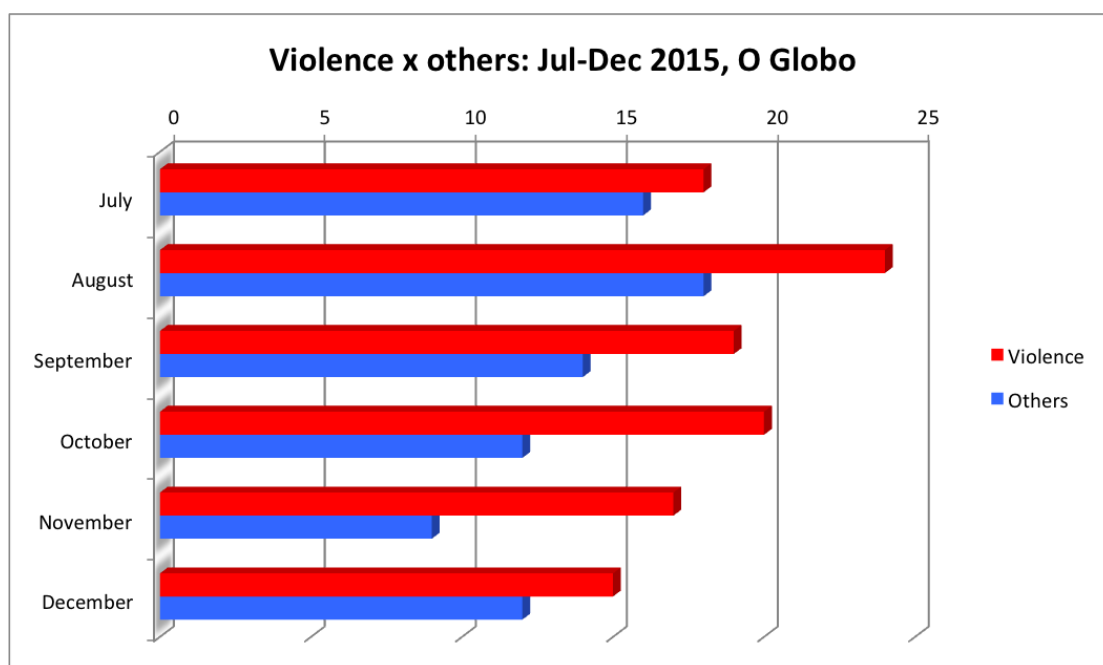


Figure 18: Violence x Other categories, Jul-Dec 2015, O Globo

	July	August	September	October	November	December
Violence	18	24	19	20	17	15
Others	16	18	14	12	9	12

Table 10: Violence x Other categories, Jul-Dec 2015, O Globo

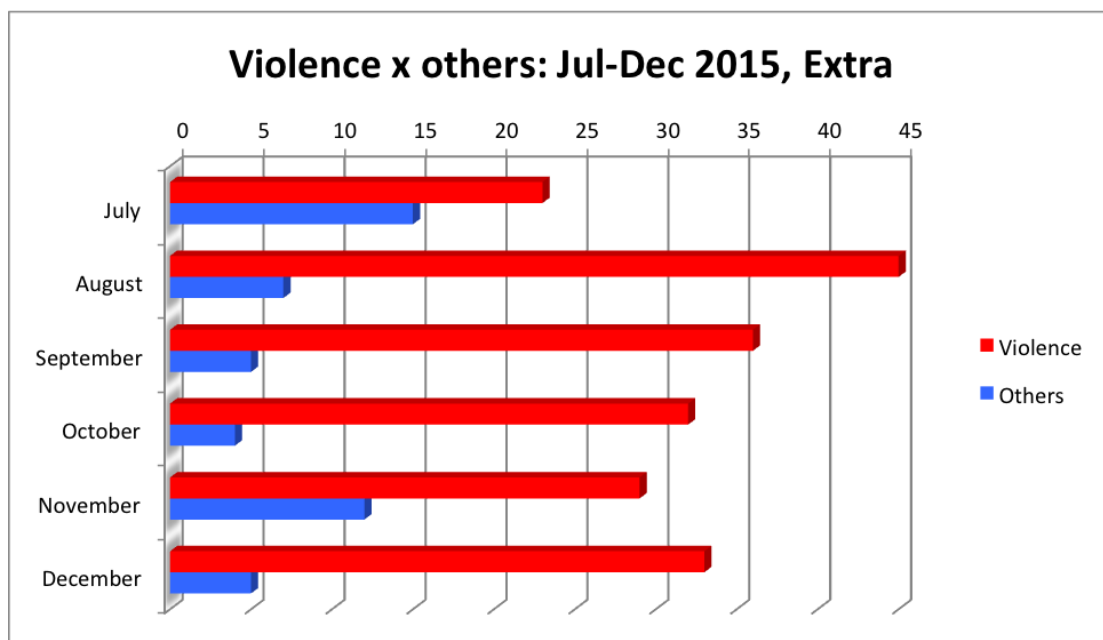


Figure 19: Violence x Other categories, Jul-Dec 2015, EXTRA

	July	August	September	October	November	December
Violence	23	45	36	32	29	33
Others	15	7	5	4	12	5

Table 11: Violence x Other categories, Jul-Dec 2015, EXTRA

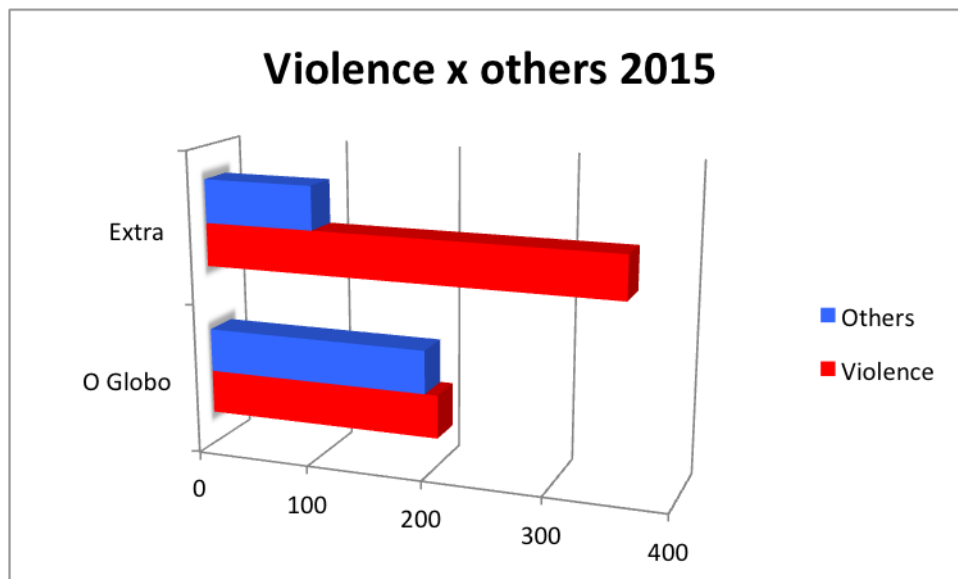


Figure 20: Violence x other categories 2015

	O Globo	Extra
Violence	204	357
Others	193	96

Table 12: Violence x other categories, 2015

8.2 The word is favela: which words represent the favela in the news?

The elaboration of the headlines is a vital stage of the edition of the journalistic text since it is written to attract the attention of the reader producing a synthesis of the article in an instigating way. For this reason, I decided to investigate the most frequently used words in the analysed articles, with interest in verifying which words are associated with the favelas narrative in 2015. The first thing observed was that negative and violence-related words are those that are used the most, besides the own word 'favela' or 'favelas'.

In O Globo, the police dominate the narrative with the terms 'UPP', 'Police' 'PM' and 'policeman/policemen' ('UPP', 'Polícia' 'PM' e 'policial/policiais') appearing 67 times altogether. Then we have the set 'stray bullets', 'shootings', 'shots' and 'shot' ('bala perdida', 'tiroteio', 'tiros' e 'baleado') appearing 28 times, denouncing the favelas war

routine, which can be reinforced by the third group of words: 'death ', 'dead', 'died' with 24 mentions. In addition, Eduardo, the name of the boy murdered by the police in April in the Complexo do Alemão, and Amarildo, the bricklayer killed by the Police in Rocinha, appear seven times each.

In Extra, the highlights are the confrontations: the terms 'shooting', 'shot', 'war', 'stray bullet', 'confrontation', 'shot' and 'wounded' ('tiroteio', 'baleado/a/os', 'guerra', 'bala perdida', 'confronto', 'tiro/s' e 'ferido/s') appear 125 times summed. Next comes the police with the group 'UPP', 'Police', 'Police operation' and 'Police officers' ('UPP', 'Polícia', 'Operação policial' e 'Policiais') mentioned 81 times. The words 'death/s', 'dead', 'died' and 'killed' ('morte/s', 'morto/s', 'morreu', 'matou', 'mata') appeared 71 times. 'Traffic' ('tráfico') was mentioned 28 times.

Analysing this collection of words it is already possible to grasp the main narrative about the favelas in the two newspapers: a place that lives a routine of violence starred by the Police and the result is an increasing count of dead and wounded. In both newspapers, the words of positive connotation are little present in the headlines. Therefore they obtained little prominence in the word cloud.

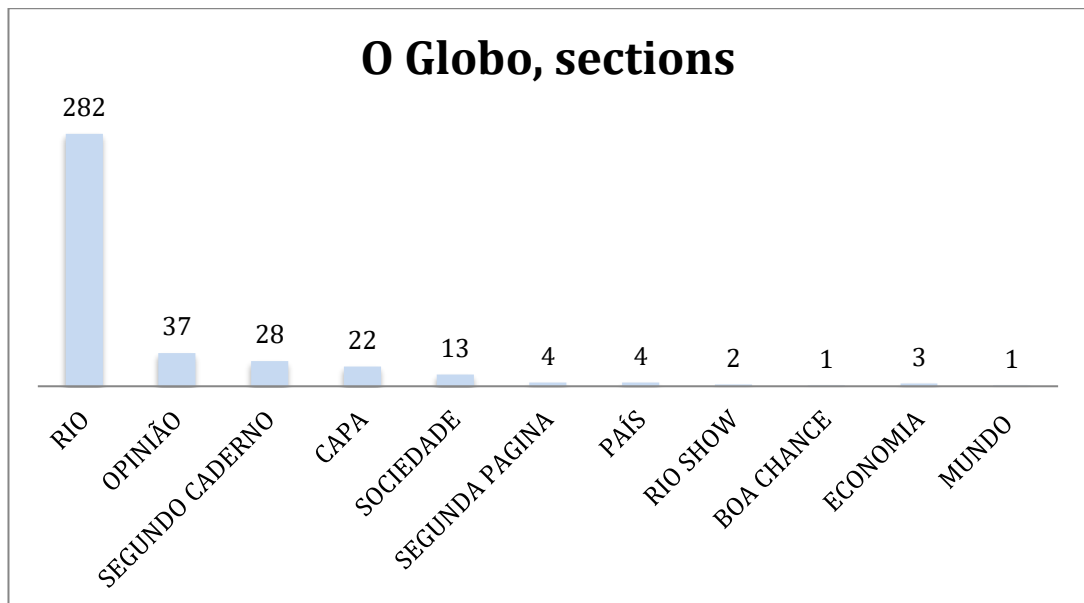


Figure 23: O Globo sections: Rio, Opinion, Second section, Cover, Society, Second page, Country, Rio show, Good chance, Economy, World.

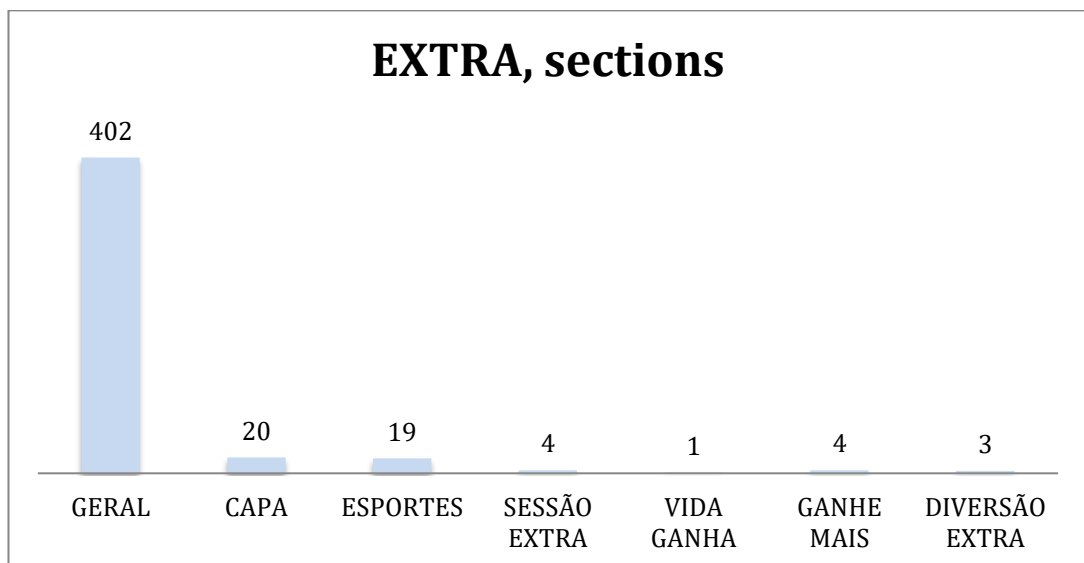


Figure 24: Extra sections: General, Cover, Sports, Extra session, Life made, Earn more and Extra fun.

9 The favela under the social media perspective

In this chapter, this study will address the different initiatives for the generation of journalistic content by groups of residents in the two favelas complexes studied: the Complexo do Alemão and the Complexo da Maré, or simply Maré. A total of 29 favelas (13 in the Complexo do Alemão and 16 in the Maré) were monitored by this research from January 1, 2015 to December 31, 2015, through the activity on the Facebook pages of the groups Voz da Comunidade (Community Voice) and Coletivo Papo Reto (Straight talk collective), in Complexo do Alemão and Maré Vive (Maré Lives) in the Maré.

9.1 Voices from Alemão

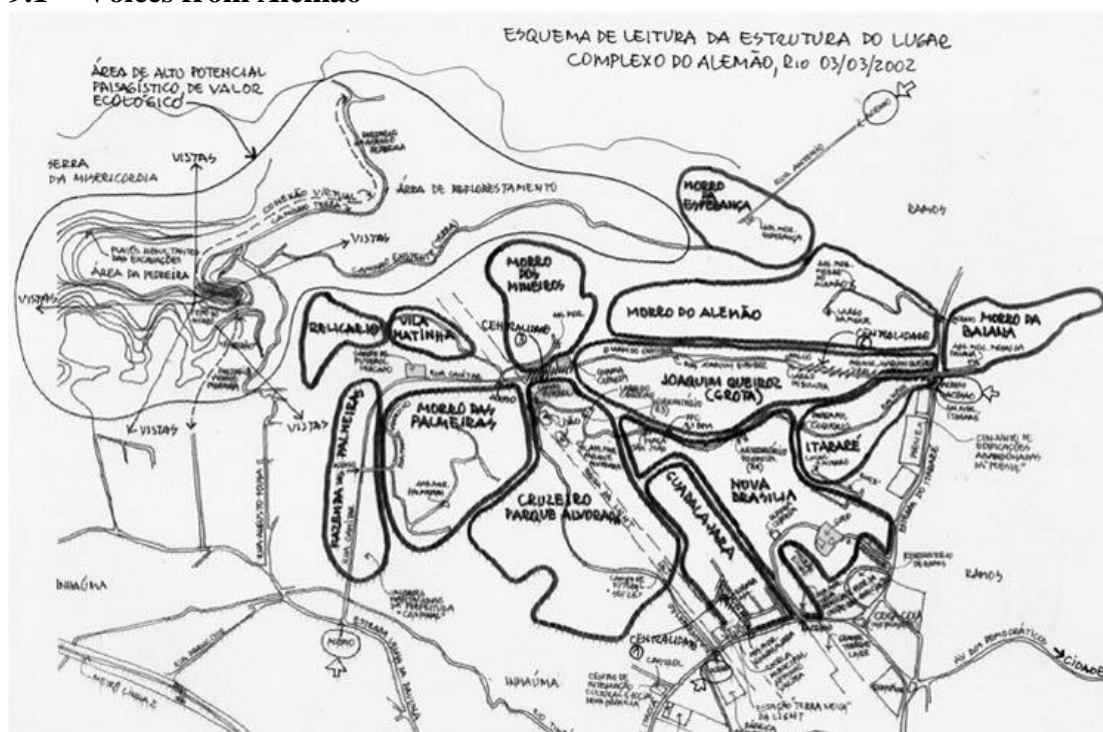


Figure 25: Complexo do Alemão map⁵²

The Complexo do Alemão consists of thirteen favelas and extends over an area of almost two billion square meters (Abreu, 2013, p33). Now home to more than 69,000 people⁵³, the area began to be occupied in the 1920s when a polish farmer sold his land in small plots to the Northeastern migrants attracted by the region's employment

⁵² Source: http://www.jauregui.arq.br/favelas_interview.html (last accessed in 06/01/2019)

⁵³ Source: IBGE CENSUS 2010

opportunities, an industrial pole. The accent and the physical appearance of the Polish farmer earned him the nickname “German” who eventually named one of the favelas and then the entire complex (Abreu, 2013).



Figure 26: Complexo do Alemão, photo by Matias Maxx⁵⁴

Located in the northern part of the city, the Complexo do Alemão gained notoriety for being considered the headquarters of the criminal faction Comando Vermelho⁵⁵, that still controls the drug trafficking in most favelas of the Complex. It was also the scene of violent events that marked the city's history, such as the death of investigative journalist Tim Lopes in 2002. In 2010, the process of occupation of the Complex of favelas started to install the UPPs in a mega operation that included men from the Military Police, the Civil Police, the Federal Police and the Army. The operation, which received extreme media attention and was broadcasted live by helicopters from Rede Globo, was the starting point for the group of residents responsible for the community newspaper, Voz da Comunidade, to gain notoriety. Through the Twitter microblog, they reported what happened on the streets of the Complex during the operation, which was inaccessible to the traditional press.

⁵⁴ Source: https://www.vice.com/pt_br/article/53mevd/a-pacificacao-do-complexo-do-alemao-deu-certo

⁵⁵ For more on that: <https://www.vice.com/en/article/53mevd/a-pacificacao-do-complexo-do-alemao-deu-certo> (last accessed 05/10/2018)

The choice of the Complexo do Alemão as one of the regions studied in the present research was due both to the notoriety of the place and, consequently, the attention it receives from the media, as well as to its relationship with the UPP and the strengthening of initiatives of groups of residents producing news in the favelas of Rio – the notoriety achieved by the group Voice of the community, discussed below, is an example; as well as the very emergence of the Colectivo Papo Reto and Maré Vive.

9.1.1 A Voz da Comunidade⁵⁶

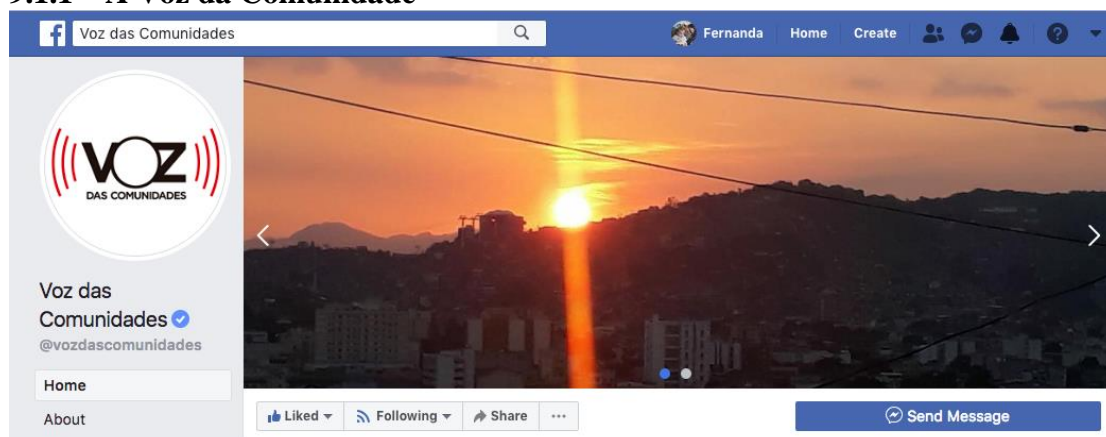


Figure 27: Voz da Comunidade on Facebook

The Voz da Comunidade was created in 2005 by Rene Silva, an eleven years old resident; he wanted to produce a newspaper specially for the inhabitants of the favela that approached the place positively, highlighting cultural events and history, for example, since the Complexo do Alemão, already dominated by the criminal factions and considered one of the most dangerous places of the city, only appeared in the news “when the content referred to drug dealing and trafficking wars” (Abreu, 2013, p26).

In November 2010, the Twitter profile of the Voz da Comunidade would become the protagonist of the journalistic coverage of the Police operation to take the Complexo do Alemão from the local gang lords and install the UPP. That event would bring the group

⁵⁶ From January 2017 the newspaper went beyond the limits of the Complexo do Alemão and started to have content production and distribution in 15 favelas scattered in different regions of the city. Therefore, he changed from “Community Voice” to “Communities Voice”. In the present paper, however, since all material collection has already been made and the analysis refers to the year 2015, I will continue to refer to the project using its original name.

to fame, making Rene the first leader of a Rio de Janeiro favela to gain notoriety from the social networks (Abreu, 2013, p56). During the operation, closely monitored throughout society, journalists, unable to enter the favelas, needed to rely on the information obtained through the Police or the helicopter accompanying the operation from above. This information was scarce and often inaccurate, creating confusion in the official coverage. Meanwhile, Rene and the other members of the Voz da Comunidade recounted what they saw from the windows of their houses in real-time on Twitter:

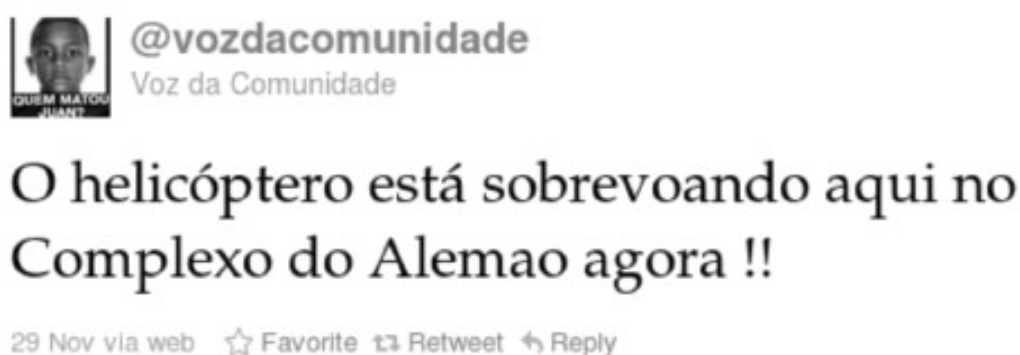


Figure 28: Voz da Comunidade on Twitter

The Twitter profile @vozdacomunidade then became one of the primary sources of news about the occupation, and its number of followers jumped from 180 to 22 thousand at the height of the police operations that November (today it counts on more than 370 thousand followers). According to Rene, they did not imagine that their coverage of the events would have so much repercussion, even correcting misinformation transmitted by mainstream media institutions:

“I did not think it was going to cause so much repercussion, but I think it was because we were Tweeting from within the community, showing a perspective that no one in the news crew had. At times, we even corrected some information given on TV, such as the areas that helicopters were flying over because we knew the community better“ (Rene Silva interview to EXTRA newspaper⁵⁷)

⁵⁷ Rene Silva interview and more on that event:

<https://extra.globo.com/noticias/rio/rene-silva-jovem-do-morador-do-morro-do-adeus->

At that time Rene still did not know, but the repercussion of that coverage would help change the course of community journalism in the favelas of the city. After the Voz da Comunidade case gained prominence, other initiatives emerged and became trusted sources of news for the favela residents, and a space for the promotion of their rights (Amaral, 2019).

According to the website⁵⁸ of the project, the Voice of the Community is “a vehicle of communication from the favelas, to the favelas” and has about 60 people in its team. Looking at the updates on Facebook, what is most striking is the neutrality and predominantly positive approach of the favela, bringing to light the positive bias reflection discussed in Chapter 5 when the Viva Favela project was reviewed. The criticisms are scarce, and most of the posts do not emit any opinion, assuming a neutrality role or of mere disseminator on Facebook.

The Voz da Comunidade had over 160,000 likes on their Facebook page on January 6, 2019. The group published 531 times on Facebook in 2015. Of those, 19% of the total were posts categorised as of a 'service' purpose (refer to Methodology), while only 1% were considered 'criticism'.

9.1.1.1 The non-existent favela: an artificially positive representation by Voz da Comunidade

Through the analysis of the 531 updates made by the group on Facebook in 2015, this thesis aimed to understand the main issues addressed and the way they were addressed. It immediately caught my attention the fact that the category Violence does not have much prominence, contrary to all other media vehicles analysed. Police violence, for example, was not critically mentioned any time during the year, not even after the death of Eduardo de Jesus and Diego Algarves.

twittou-em-tempo-real-invasao-da-policia-ao-complexo-do-alemao-19754.html (last accessed 04/08/2018)

⁵⁸ Voz da Comunidade website: <http://www.vozdascomunidades.com.br/> (last accessed on 04/04/2018)

In the first semester, the categories “general”, “life in the favelas” and “culture” were the ones with the majority of posts. In February, not even the murder of Diego Algarves by the Police and the intense protests within the Complexo do Alemão was enough to draw more attention to issues related to violence. In April the peak in the category is due to the constant police operations in the place that resulted in the death of the boy Eduardo de Jesus and other residents.

In the second semester, the 'culture' category receives more attention, followed by 'life in the favelas'; the two are far removed from the others evidencing something unusual in the coverage of favelas made by Voz da Comunidade.

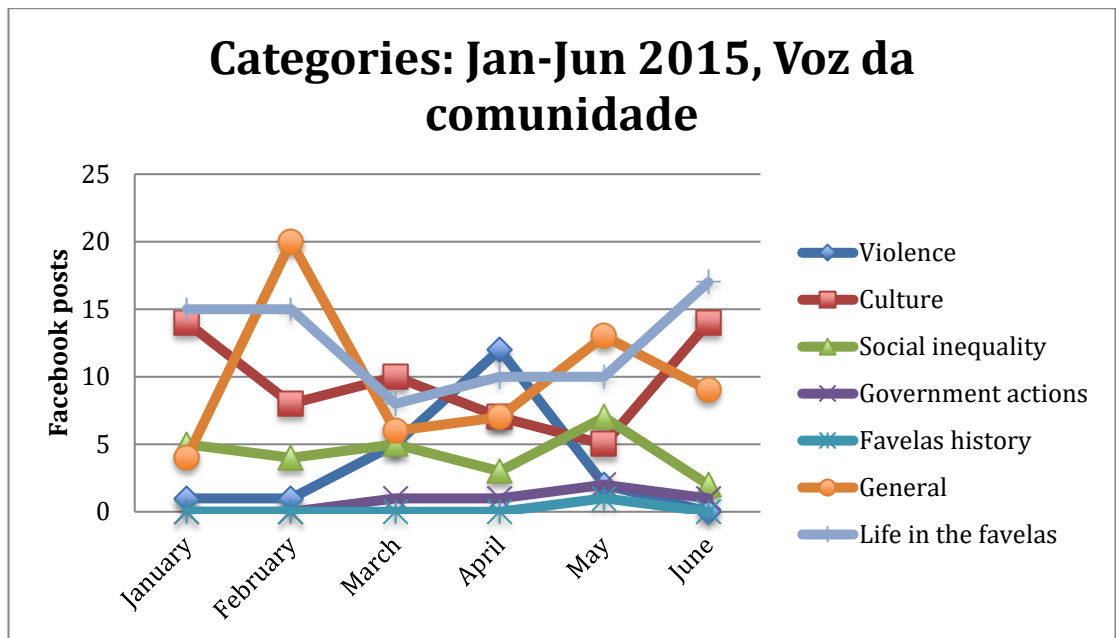


Figure 29: Categories Jan-Jun/2015 - Voz da Comunidade

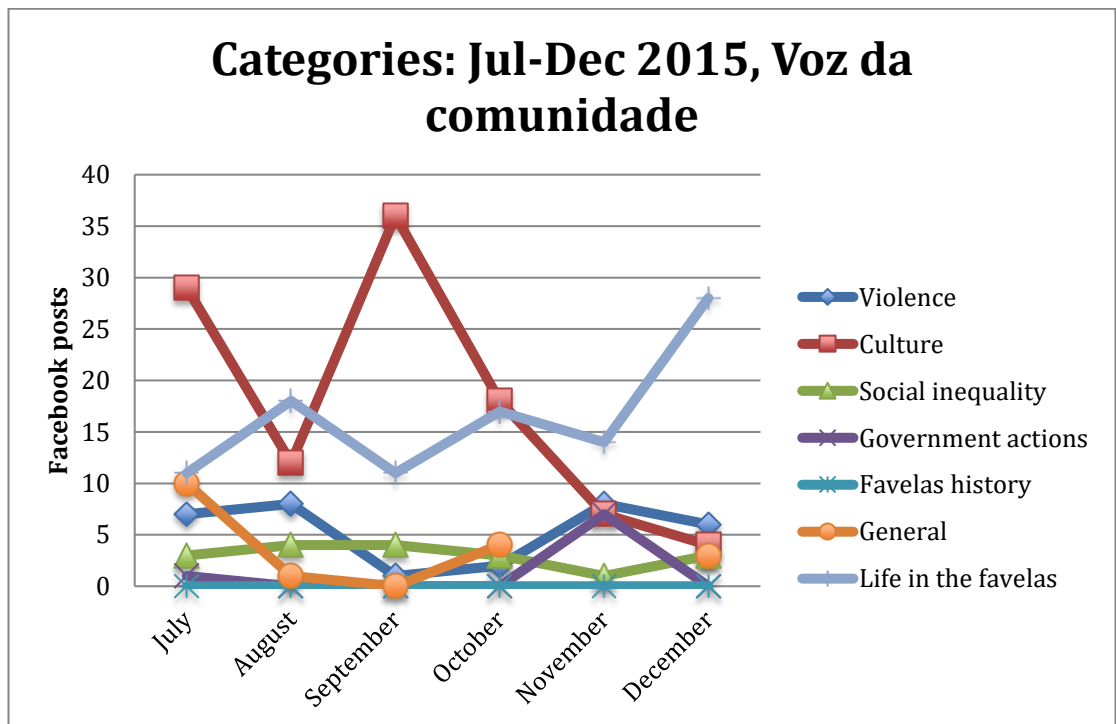


Figure 30: Categories Jul-Dec/2015 - Voz da Comunidade

	January	February	March	April	May	June	
Violence	1	1	5	12		2	0
Culture	14	8	10	7		5	14
Social inequality	5	4	5	3		7	2
Government actions	0	0	1	1		2	1
Favelas history	0	0	0	0		1	0
General	4	20	6	7		13	9
Life in the favelas	15	15	8	10		10	17
	July	August	September	October	November	December	
Violence	7	8	1	2		8	6
Culture	29	12	36	18		7	4
Social inequality	3	4	4	3		1	3
Government actions	1	0	0	0		7	0
Favelas history	0	0	0	0		0	0
General	10	1	0	4			3
Life in the favelas	11	18	11	17		14	28

Table 131313: Categories, 2015 - Voz da Comunidade

The Voz da Comunidade seems to offer a version contrary to what is seen in the mainstream media: predominantly positive, with little or no emphasis on violence and other ills that hit the favelas. In fact, this emphasis is so small that even important events in the favelas, such as protests against the death of innocents, actions against police violence, and the very death of residents in the crossfire are out of the discussion or receive little attention. The page focuses on cultural and day-to-day activities of the favelas, offering only a positive view, “the good side of the favela.” Thus, the dominant tone in the posts is positive.

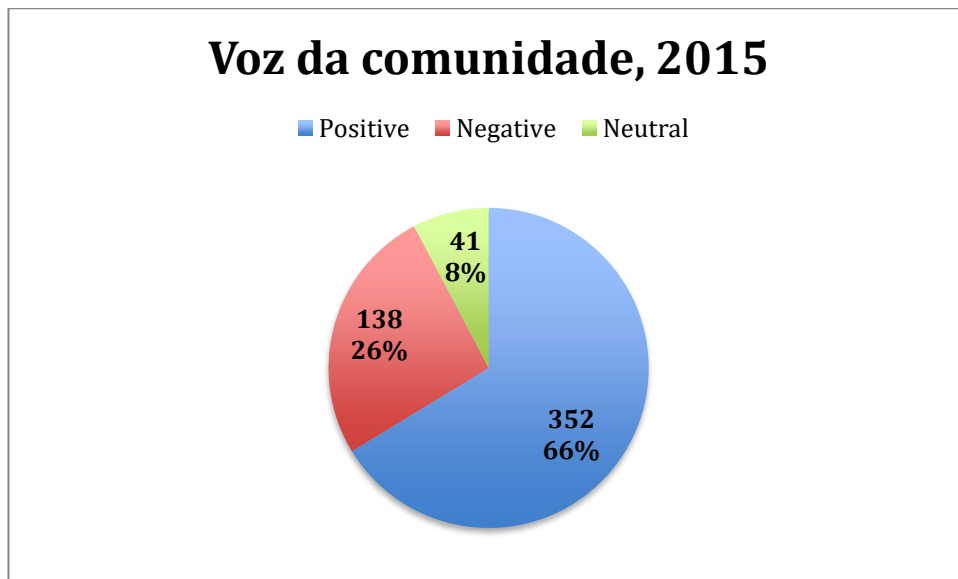


Figure 31: Tone, 2015 - Voz da Comunidade

	January	February	March	April	May	June	
Positive	30	34	18	20	24	35	
Negative	7	13	13	16	8	5	
Neutral	2	1	4	4	8	3	
	July	August	September	October	November	December	
Positive	41	23	45	36	22	24	
Negative	15	15	11	6	15	14	
Neutral	5	4	1	2	1	6	

Table 141414: Tone, 2015 - Voz da Comunidade

The reflex of this positive coverage of the favela and the lack of emphasis on issues related to violence can be proven by comparing the category 'violence' with the others, the same way it was done with the newspaper's data. At no time in 2015 'violence' was the central narrative of the page, which could be good if it was a reflex of a positive agenda without, however, ignoring relevant negative events.

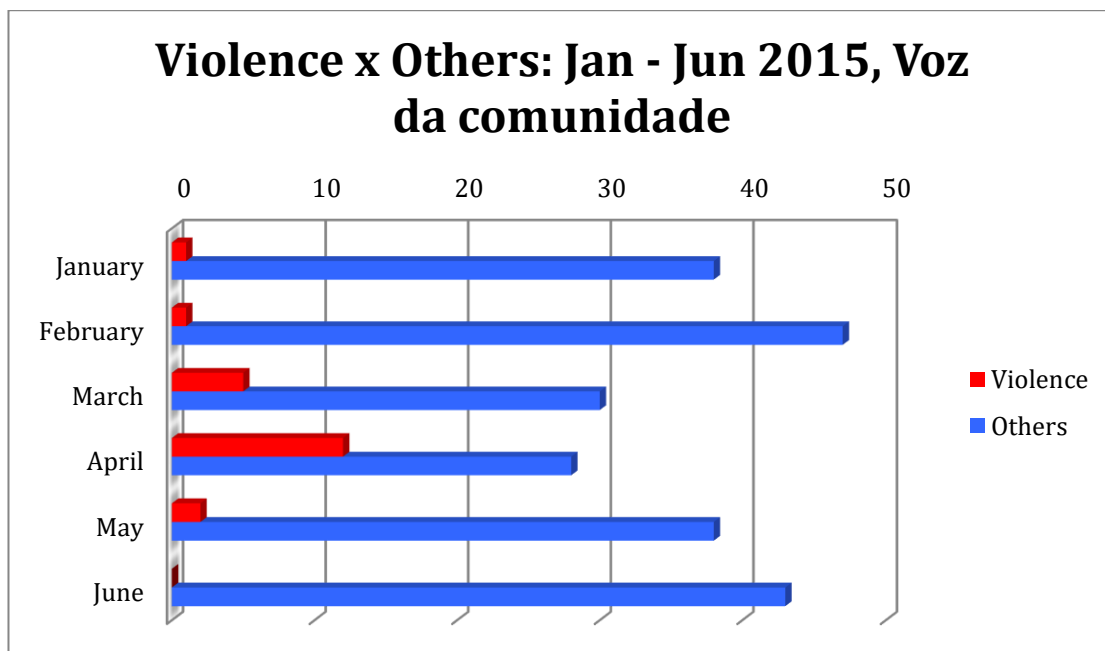


Figure 32: Violence x other categories, Jan-Jun/2015 - Voz da comunidade

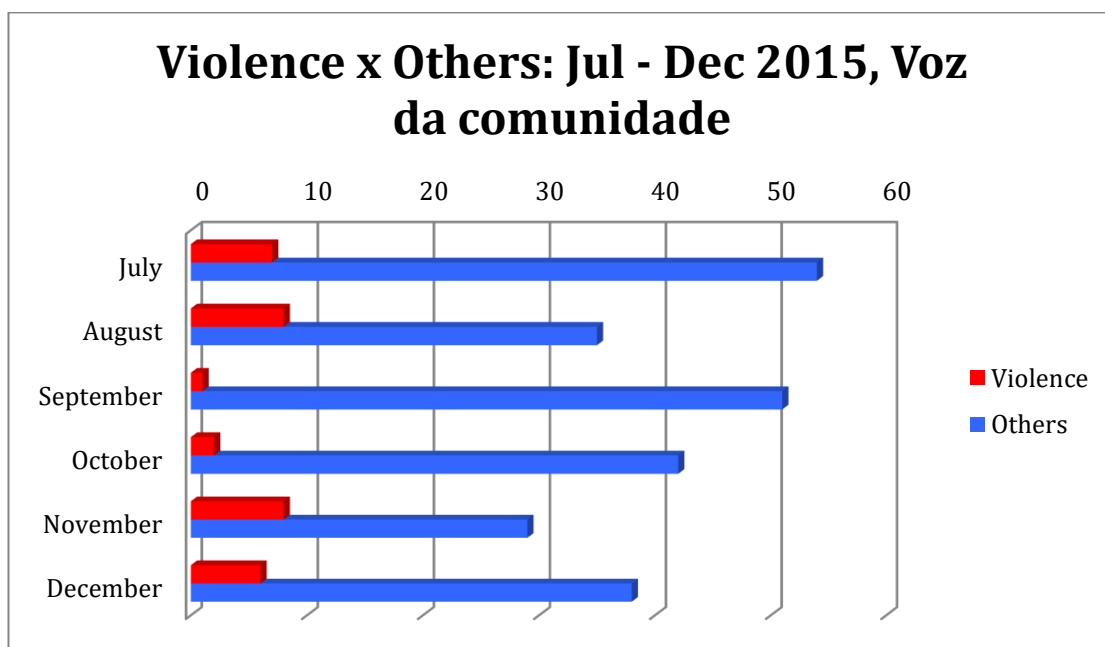


Figure 33: Violence x Other categories, Jul-Dec 2015 - Voz da comunidade

	January	February	March	April	May	June
Violence	1	1	5	12	2	0
Others	38	47	30	28	38	43
	July	August	September	October	November	December
Violence	7	8	1	2	8	6
Others	54	35	51	42	29	38

Table 151515: Violence x Other categories, 2015 - Voz da Comunidade

Lastly, because the use of support media (such as photos and videos) have a strong appeal in the digital environment, an analysis of the use of these resources in the studied pages was included. Therefore, it was noticed that none of the Voz da Comunidade's posts on Facebook in 2015 were text only, absolutely all updates were accompanied by videos, photos, weblinks or even a photo and weblink junction. Analysing the content in depth, it was also noticed that there is a large number of posts that are just a 'call to action' containing a weblink to a text on the group's website. This results in the emptying of the discussion, since it takes the reader to another environment, of a less interactive configuration, less inviting to participation.

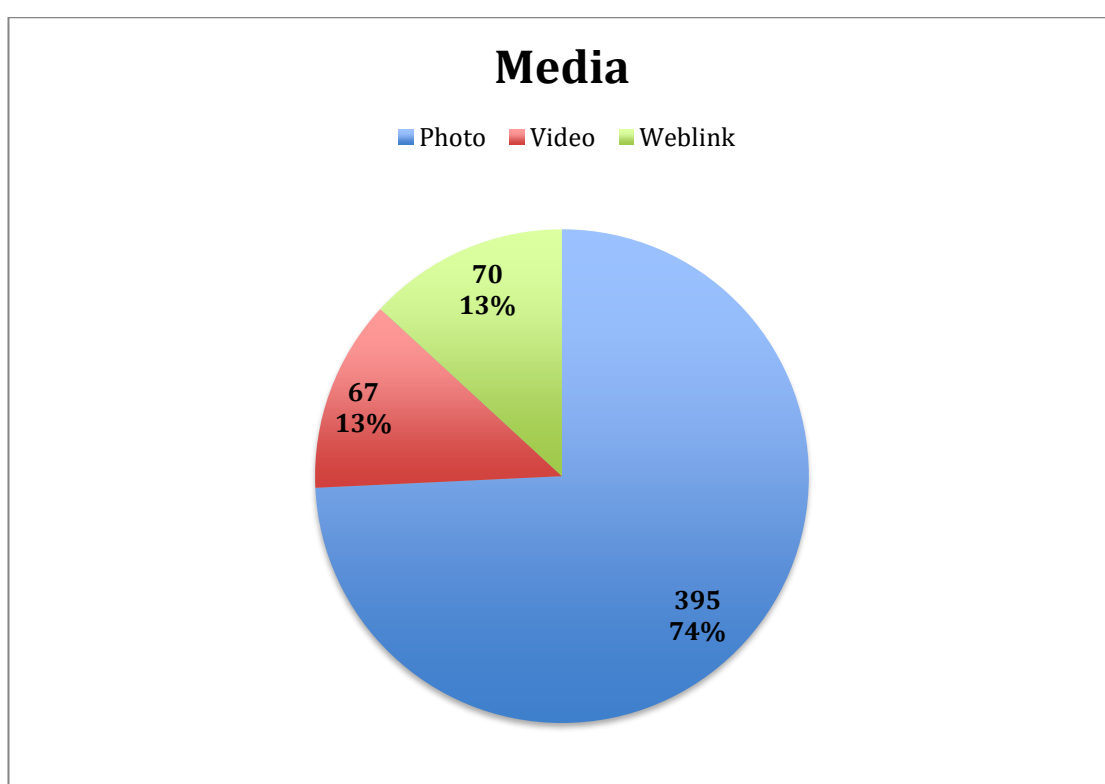


Figure 35: Media use, 2015 - Voz da Comunidade

9.1.2 Coletivo Papo Reto



Figure 36: Coletivo Papo Reto on Facebook

Coletivo Papo Reto is an independent group of young activists living in Complexo do Alemão who use cell phones and social media to counter mainstream narratives, to document abuses and report police violence (<https://witness.org/coletivo-papo-reto-combating-police-violence-in-brazil>). The project was born in 2014, in response to the criminalisation of the favelas in the mainstream media. According to the group's website, the project aims to spread news from within the favela and be an active channel in showing the reality of it and questioning the commercial press. The group also maintains that the content it produces is made “by the favela resident to the favela itself,” a philosophy they call “we for ourselves”⁵⁹. Still, according to the website, this philosophy acts as a security scheme in which residents are constantly in contact with each other prepared to register and report violence in the favelas, contributing, therefore, by the constant presence of someone filming, for the inhibition of illicit acts by the Police.

Observing the activities of the 'Papo Reto', the most striking features are the critical tone, especially when they address the issue of UPPs, one of the main focuses of the group's posts in 2015. The spotlight on denouncing, discussing and combating police violence is indisputable.

⁵⁹ More information on Coletivo Papo Reto and the project Nós por Nós available at <https://100ko.wordpress.com/sobre/> (last accessed on 12/01/2019)



Figure 37: Coletivo Papo Reto on Facebook; “Why does the State only dialogue with the favela people through the police?”

Papo Reto had more than 50,000 likes on Facebook on January 4, 2019. The group published 523 times on Facebook in 2015. Of those, 24% of all publications were 'criticism' or 'denunciation', while 'services' accounted for 14%.

9.1.2.1 Balance in reporting the favela: the work of Coletivo Papo Reto

Again, through the analysis of the 523 updates made by the group on Facebook, I seek to understand the main topics covered on the page and how they are addressed. In the first semester, the category “violence” distanced itself from the others and had two peaks: in February and in April.

In February, Diego Algarves, 22, was murdered by the police after supposedly have failed to stop in a stopping point, provoking demonstrations and more violence in the area. In April, the favelas lived days of war and the 10-year-old boy Eduardo de Jesus was murdered by the police while sitting at the door of his own house.

In the second half, we see the posts distributed more evenly across the categories, aided by the fact that there were no major violent events, and contrasting with the mainstream media narrative.

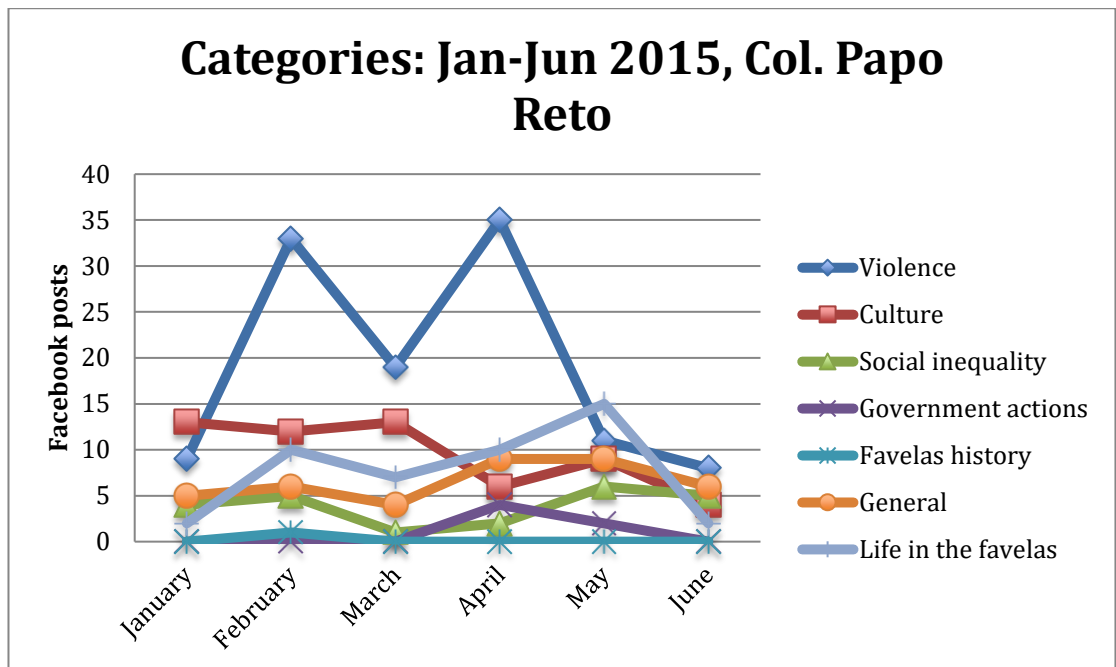


Figure 38: Categories Jan-Jun/2015 - Papo Reto

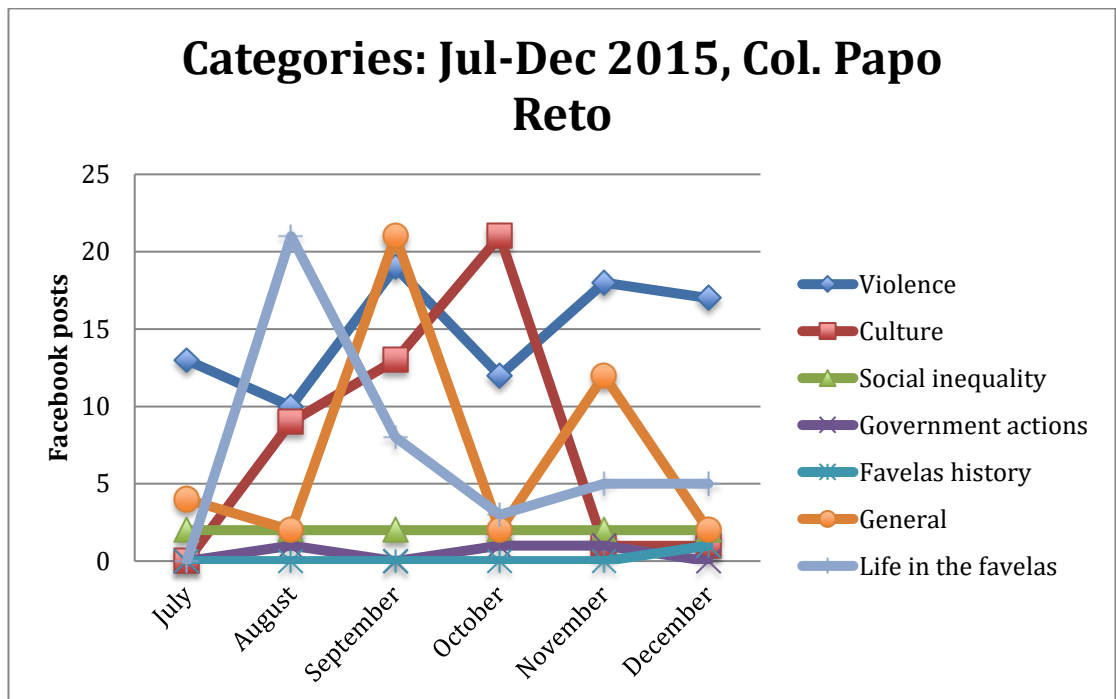


Figure 39: Categories Jul-Dec/2015 - Papo Reto

	January	February	March	April	May	June	
Violence	9	33	19	35	11	8	
Culture	13	12	13	6	9	4	
Social inequality	4	5	1	2	6	5	
Government actions	0	0	0	4	2	0	
Favelas history	0	1	0	0	0	0	
General	5	6	4	9	9	6	
Life in the favelas	2	10	7	10	15	2	
	July	August	September	October	November	December	
Violence	13	10	19	12	18	17	
Culture	0	9	13	21	1	1	
Social inequality	2	2	2	2	2	2	
Government actions	0	1	0	1	1	0	
Favelas history	0	0	0	0	0	1	
General	4	2	21	2	12	2	
Life in the favelas	0	21	8	3	5	5	

Table 161616: Categories 2015, Papo Reto

Unlike the mainstream media, which maintained a predominantly negative tone about the favela in 2015, and also of the Voz da Comunidade, that made an exaggerated positive coverage of the favela in the same year, the coverage produced by the Coletivo Papo Reto was balanced: 54% of the posts were in a negative tone, while 46% had a positive approach. This balance may be an indication that Papo Reto seeks to discuss and criticise violence and human rights violations in favelas without forgetting cultural events and other positive subjects. More on this will be discussed in Chapter 11.

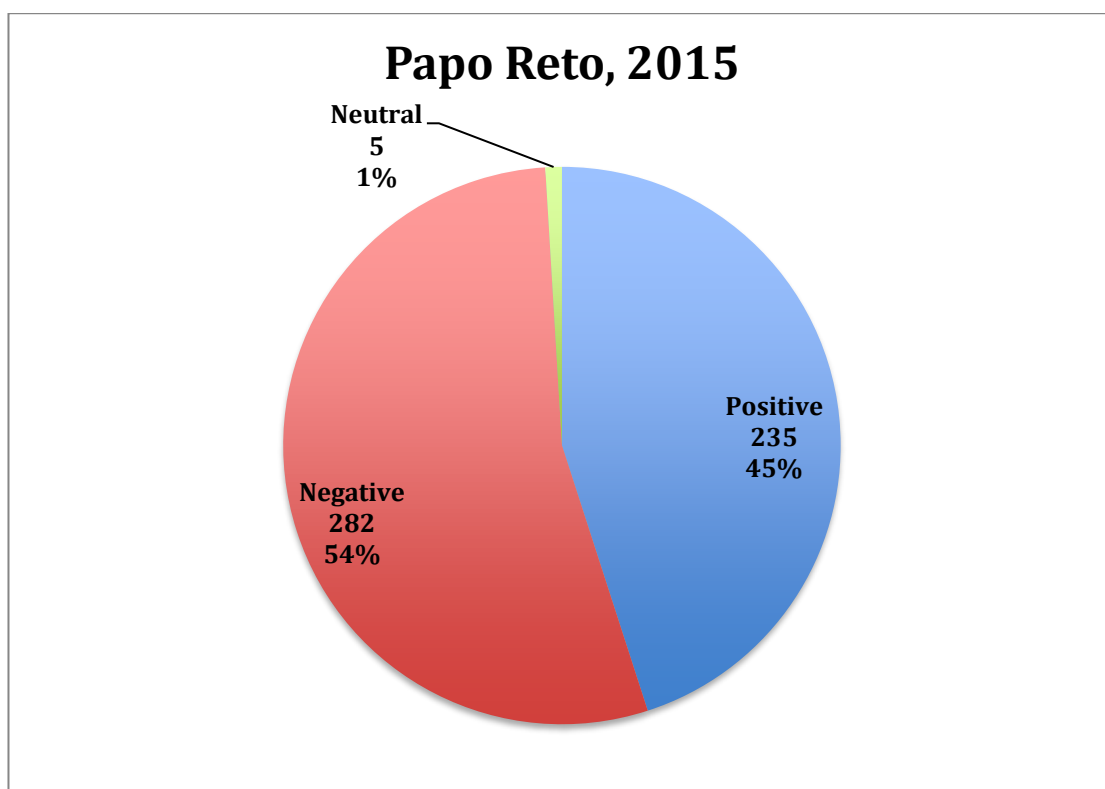


Figure 40: Tone, 2015 - Papo Reto

	January	February	March	April	May	June	
Positive	19	25	20	28	23	9	
Negative	14	41	24	38	26	15	
Neutral	0	1	0	0	3	1	
	July	August	September	October	November	December	
Positive	1	25	38	25	15	7	
Negative	19	20	25	16	24	20	
Neutral	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Table 17: Tone, 2015 - Papo Reto

The comparison of the number of posts under the Violence category against all other categories added is another indicator of balance content produced by Coletivo Papo Reto. In just three of the twelve months of 2015, updates on violence, including police violence, surpassed all other categories combined — in the mainstream media the situation is reversed, with most months being dominated by the narrative of violence.

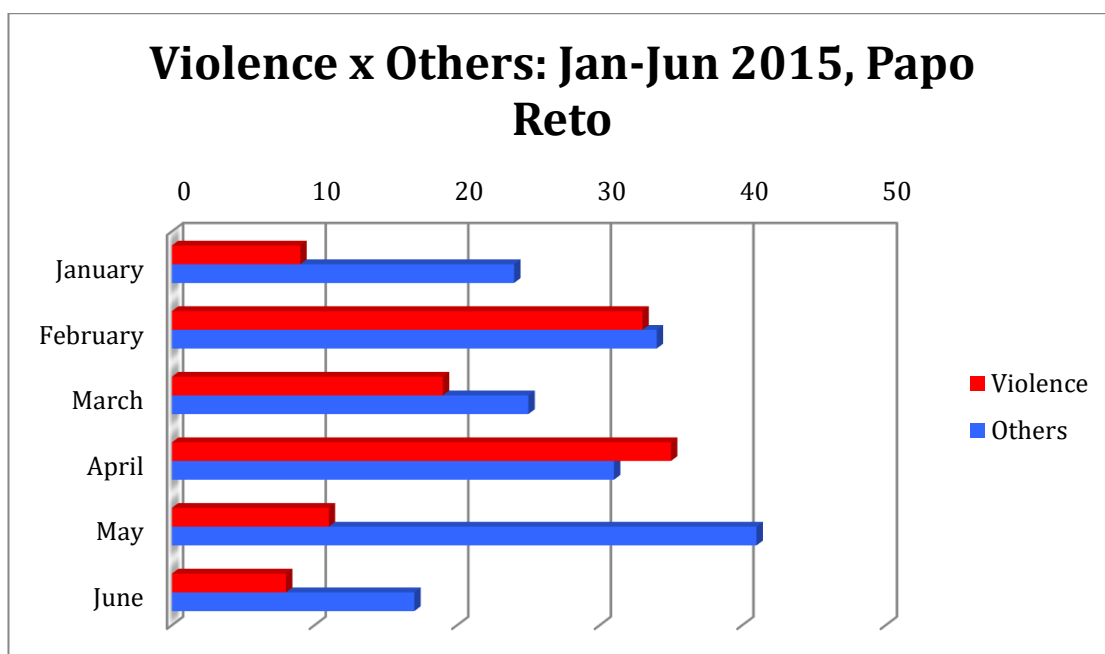


Figure 41: Violence x Other categories Jan-Jul/2015 - Papo Reto

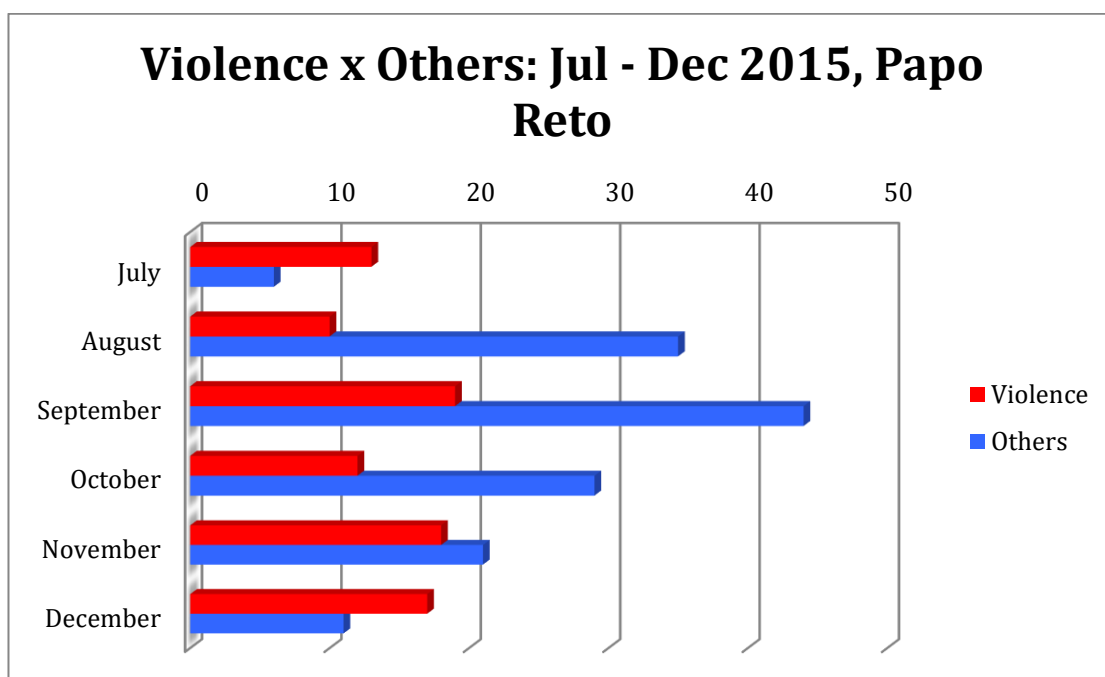


Figure 42: Violence x Other categories, Jul-Dec/2015, Papo Reto

	January	February	March	April	May	June
Violence	9	33	19	35	11	8
Others	24	34	25	31	41	17
	July	August	September	October	November	December
Violence	13	10	19	12	18	17
Others	6	35	44	29	21	11

Table 181818: Violence x Other categories, 2015 - Papo Reto

Only 7% of the Papo Reto Facebook posts were text only, without the use of any media. This corroborates the group's own claim to monitor the favela through photos and videos, including a partnership with NGO witness that disseminates content guiding how to record police violence, for example.

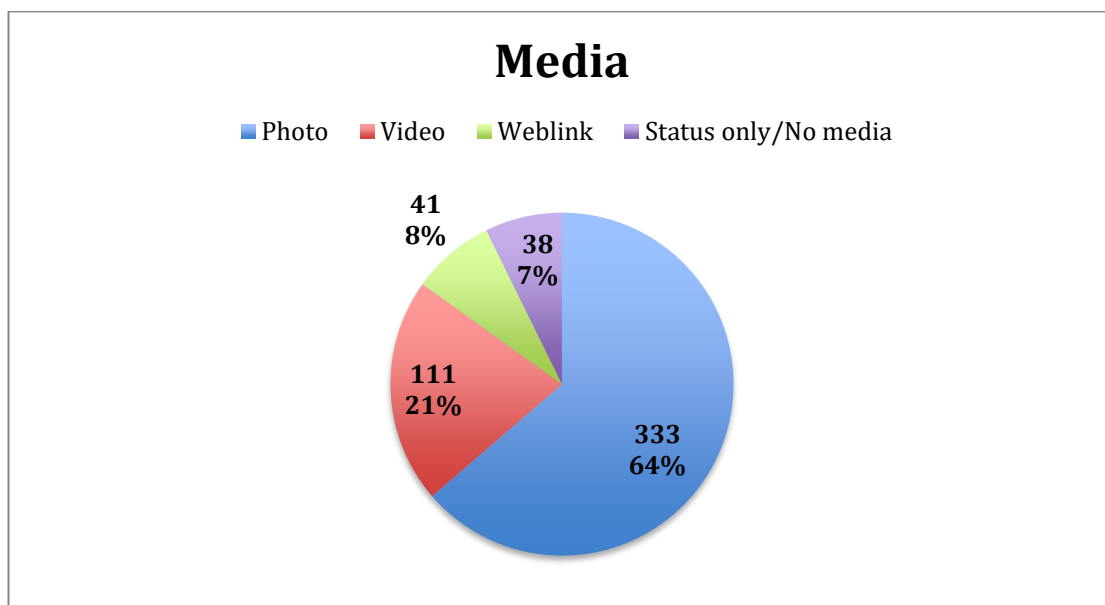


Figure 44: Media use, 2015 - Papo Reto

9.2 Voices from Maré

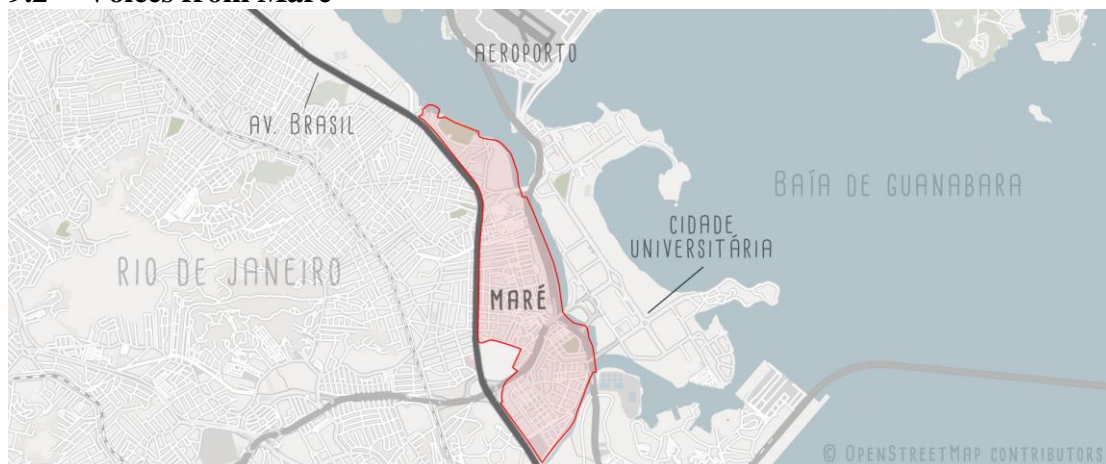


Figure 45: Maré location in the city⁶⁰

The Maré Complex or simply Maré (officially recognised as a neighbourhood in 1994 by the City Hall of Rio de Janeiro) is the most massive favela complex in Rio de Janeiro, comprising sixteen favelas and home to 130,000 people. The Maré is delimited by the waters of the Bay of Guanabara and by three important motorways: the Linha Vermelha, the Linha Amarela and the Avenida Brazil.

⁶⁰ Source: <http://cdn.impresa.pt/6a8/bdf/8244710/02.html>



Figure 46: the sixteen favelas⁶¹

The place was originally inhabited by fishermen, but from the 1940s it began to be occupied by workers, attracted by the great offer of jobs in the construction of the Avenida Brasil and also the university campus of Ilha do Fundão.

The marshy area was covered with water at the time, only the locality now known as Morro do Timbau was not in the water. Thus, these workers who arrived at the place

⁶¹ Source: <http://www.multirio.rj.gov.br/index.php/leia/reportagens-artigos/reportagens/3086-mare-uma-cidade-dentro-do-rio-de-janeiro>

constructed precarious houses of stilts above the water giving rise to the favela known as Baixa do Sapateiro. It was only in the 1980s that this population living on the stilts would be relocated to other regions of the Maré.



Figure 47: Stilt houses in Maré⁶²

Although officially a neighborhood since 1994, there have been no significant changes in the quality of life of the local population, which is the third most impoverished administrative region of Rio de Janeiro and lives with the war between the criminal

⁶² Photo: <http://rioonwatch.org.br/?p=23997>

factions that dominate the area: Comando Vermelho (Red Command), Terceiro Comando Puro (Third Pure Command), and the militia.

The decision to include Maré in this study happened for two reasons: the first was the implementation process of the UPPs, that begun in 2014 with the occupation of the area by 3000 Army and Navy men and was expected to start the deployment of the first UPPs after the transition of the control of the region to the military police in 2015, year in which the material for this research would be collected.

The second was the presence of media activists in the region, using Facebook and WhatsApp.

9.2.1 Maré Vive



Figure 48: Maré Vive on Facebook

Maré Vive is one of the pages created and administered by residents of the Maré on Facebook. The page, however, has a differential in relation to the two previously analysed: the anonymity of those who manage it. For security reasons, organisers, who have already suffered death threats, prefer not to identify themselves and work anonymously. The group defines itself as a collaborative community media channel:

“Maré Vive is a collaborative community media channel. Our news reports are developed through the collaboration of the residents. We always keep the anonymity of our sources. We never divulge the name or any information that can identify who collaborated with the channel. We are a plural and democratic space always open to dialogue and with the willingness to grow and evolve always. We are developing a

journalistic activity in the same way that any other journal or TV journal would do but under the point of view of the community of the Maré” (Maré Lives on Facebook on 6/7/2015⁶³).

Looking at the page activities on Facebook, it is quickly noticed that administrators rely strongly on reports and complaints from residents, who send out information about shootings, events, lost and found, requests for help, photos and video via WhatsApp or Facebook itself. The page has a critical and denunciatory profile and has become one of the primary sources of warnings about dangerous situations like shootings, police operations in progress or any other suspected risk to the residents. Precisely because it relies on information passed by residents, there are a large number of posts to ask how the favelas are at that moment, waiting for the residents, through the comments, to report conflicts or tranquillity in the different regions of the complex.



Figure 49: Maré Vive on Facebook - “Shots at Pinheiro”

Maré Vive had more than 139,000 likes on their Facebook page on January 2, 2019. The group posted 575 times in the social network in 2015. Of these, 22% of all publications were 'criticism', while 'warnings to the residents' accounted for 18%.

9.2.1.1 Life in the Maré through the eyes of Maré Vive

Again this study proposes to analyse the topics addressed by the page during the year 2015 to identify the main issues discussed in this space. There were 575 Facebook posts from the page in the abovementioned year, analysed and categorised as described

⁶³ <https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864043146964472/>

above. During the beginning of the year, the category “Violence” followed the trend of the mainstream media and was the main subject of the page. However, it is important to note that although it is the category with more posts, the predominance is not absolute as observed in the mainstream newspapers. As of May, the “Life in the Favelas” category will occupy more space, surpassing the “Violence” category in October, November and December. In May a peak in 'Violence' themed posts can be observed because of the intense police operations that occurred that month, with many reports of abuse and many shootings. In September, another peak in the posts addressing violence was caused by intense police operations and shootings, aggravated by the deaths of two children shot in other favelas (*Manguinhos* and *Caju*).

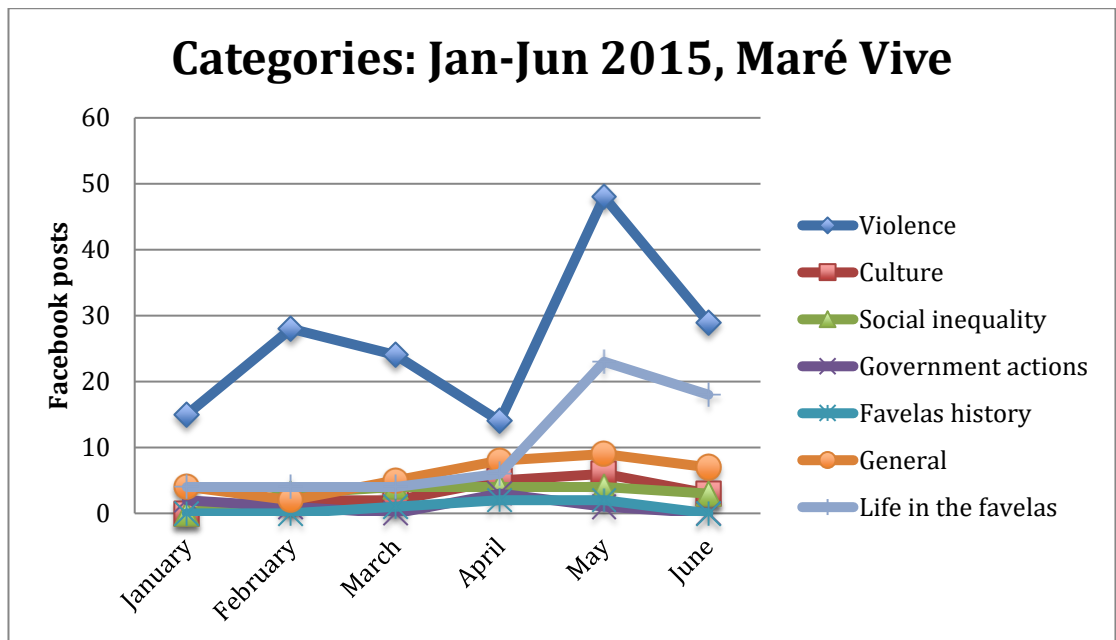


Figure 50: Categories Jan-Jun/2015 - Maré Vive

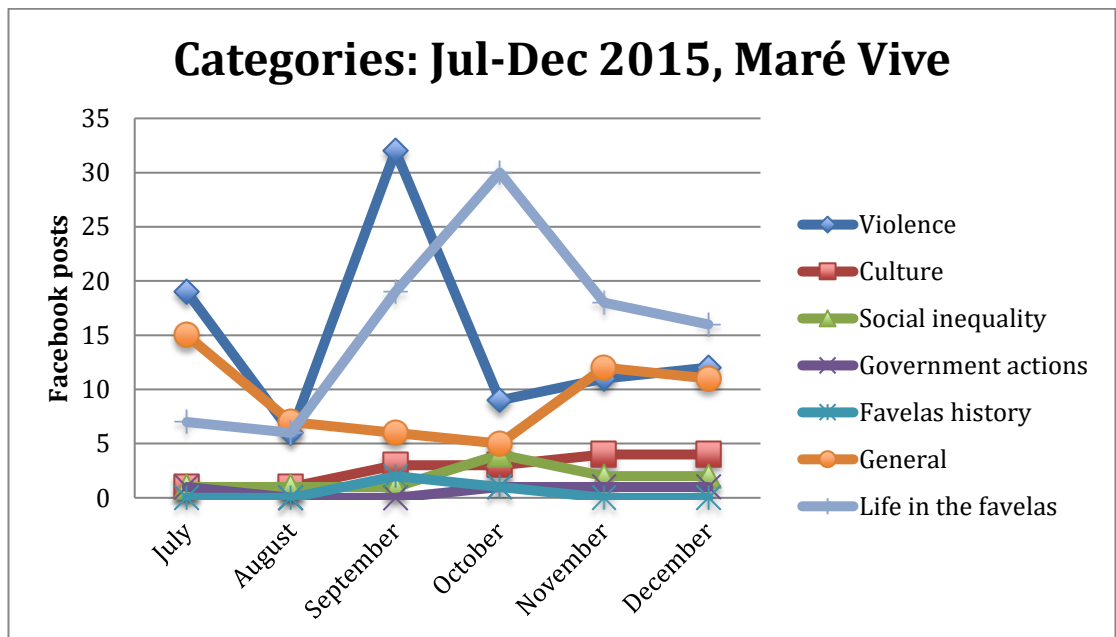


Figure 51: Categories Jul-Dec/2015 - Maré Vive

	January	February	March	April	May	June	
Violence	15	28	24	14	48	29	
Culture	0	2	2	5	6	3	
Social inequality	0	3	4	4	4	3	
Government actions	2	1	0	3	1	0	
Favelas history	0	0	1	2	2	0	
General	4	2	5	8	9	7	
Life in the favelas	4	4	4	6	23	18	
	10	12	16	28	45	31	
	July	August	September	October	November	December	
Violence	19	6	32	9	11	12	
Culture	1	1	3	3	4	4	
Social inequality	1	1	1	4	2	2	
Government actions	1	0	0	1	1	1	
Favelas history	0	0	2	1	0	0	
General	15	7	6	5	12	11	
Life in the favelas	7	6	19	30	18	16	

Table 191919: Categories, 2015 - Maré Vive

Influenced by the greater space devoted to the other categories, the tone of the posts is also more balanced, although the negative tone still prevails corresponding to 64% of the posts.

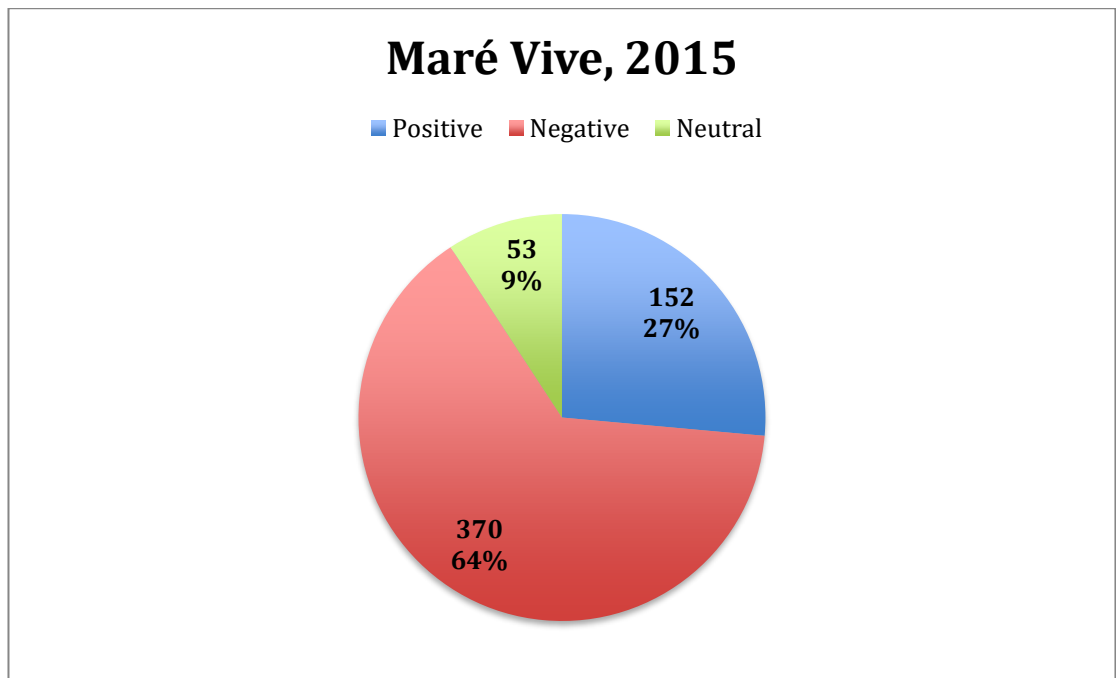


Figure 52: Tone, 2015 - Maré Vive

Tone	January	February	March	April	May	June
Positive	2	3	9	12	20	14
Negative	23	36	31	28	59	44
Neutral	0	1	0	2	14	2

	July	August	September	October	November	December
Positive						
Negative	12	4	21	21	21	13
Neutral	32	13	38	19	22	25
	0	4	4	13	5	8

Table 20: Tone, 2015 - Maré Vive

The comparison of the category Violence in relation to all other themes added follows the trend already shown in the study of the categories: although violence was the predominant subject in the first three months of the year, from April, the other themes gained more space.

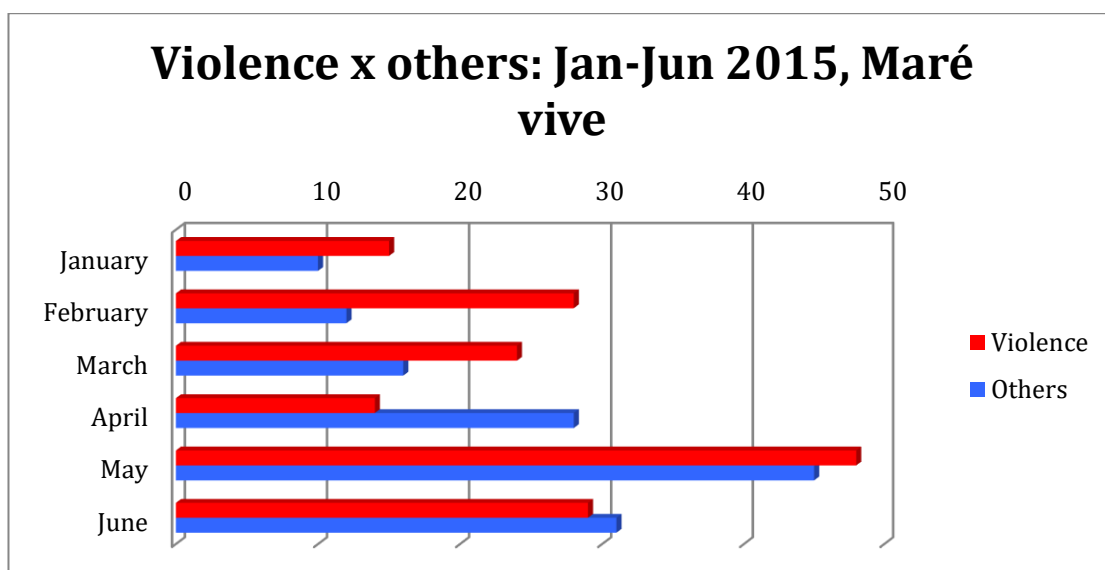


Figure 53: Violence x Other categories, Jan-Jun/2015 - Maré Vive

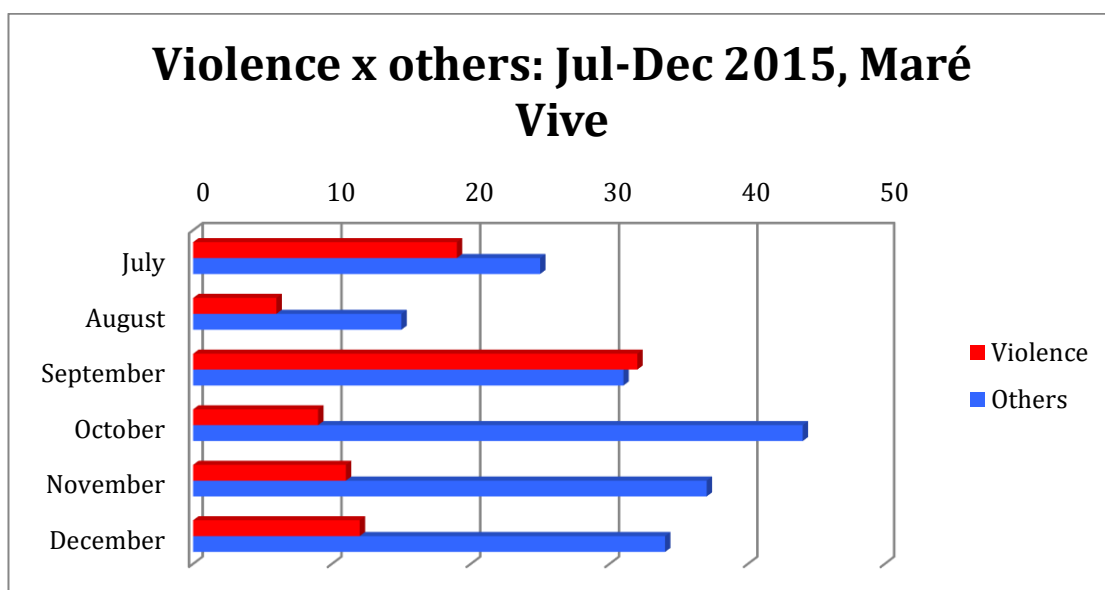


Figure 54: Violence x Other categories, Jul-Dec/2015 - Maré Vive

	January	February	March	April	May	June
Violence	15	28	24	14	48	29
Others	10	12	16	28	45	31

	July	August	September	October	November	December
Violence	19	6	32	9	11	12
Others	25	15	31	44	37	34

Table 21: Violence x Other categories, 2015 - Maré Vive

Quite different from that observed in the Papo Reto and Voz da Comunidade publications, nearly half of the Maré Vive updates were text only, without the use of any media. This can be indicated as a space for improvement, since the use of media, especially photos and video, is advocated as something important in favela mediactivism (will be discussed in depth in Chapter 11).

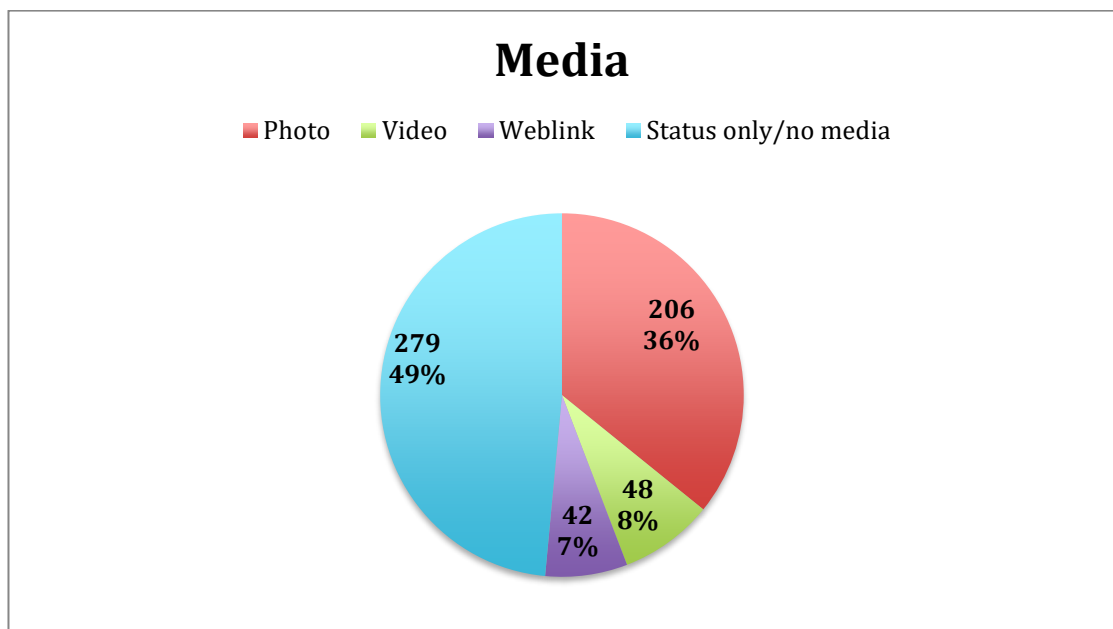


Figure 56: Media usage 2015 - Maré Vive

10 Shots in Palmeirinha: the boy who filmed his own murder

This chapter aims to analyse, through the study of a case of great repercussion occurred in 2015, the impact of the use of social networks in how much attention is obtained from the mainstream media and society for events occurred in favelas. The question posed here and that this chapter proposes to try to shed some light on is whether online mobilisation by the favela residents alters the way the mainstream media reports the events and, secondarily, whether the consciousness of this newly conquered space changes the way the favelas deal with the violent events of daily life, especially those related to police brutality. For this, a case that did not occur in one of the favelas analysed in the present research (but was intensely discussed in the pages followed in this study) was selected and the aim was to investigate the order of the events, the first reports of the mainstream media, the subsequent mobilisation through social networks and the changes it may have caused in the mainstream media coverage as well as the interest of society and its consequences.

According to Brites and Neustadt (2015), social media is able to disseminate information rapidly to a broad audience and achieving this viral effect is essential to the success of online activism:

“Online social networks can be characterised as the new counter-hegemonic weapons of today that will give voice to engaged citizens to continue fighting their fights. However, what will actually formalise social movements in this new era is the visibility achieved by network mobilisations, so it is important that the publications of a particular group get viewed and shared with other network users” (Brites and Neustadt, 2015, p5).

Thus, assuming that the higher the viral effect of the spontaneous or organised movements initiated in social networks, the greater the impact in the mainstream media, it is also essential to analyse the elements that possibly collaborated for the cases studied to become viral and how the viral effect impacted the outcome by allowing residents to reach the initial goal of the movement or not.

At dawn on February 21, 2015, two youths were injured in an alleged confrontation between the police and drug traders in the favela of Palmeirinha, northern Rio de Janeiro. The first reports, in online media outlets a few hours after the event, described the incident as a “confrontation” between police officers and a group of “traffickers”: two young men “suspected” of being part of a drug gang were hit in the “shooting”. One died, and the other was in police custody in a hospital.

In the news website G1, which belongs to the Globo Group, the first report has the following headline: “ONE PERSON DIES, AND ANOTHER IS INJURED IN SHOOTING IN THE NORTH ZONE OF RIO”⁶⁴. The names of the young people shot are not provided in the article. The event is described as “AN **EXCHANGE OF FIRE** BETWEEN THE MILITARY POLICE AND A GROUP OF **SUSPECTS**”. The focus of the news then turns to a protest made by the residents, which occurred shortly after the event. The article, updated after the morning news, also included a video with the televised report that aired that day, and once again the [negative] focus was the protest of the residents who burned vehicles on an avenue, the time it was closed for cars, and the destruction caused. The reporter describes the event: “THE PROTEST BEGAN SOON AFTER AN ACTION OF THE ROCHA MIRANDA (neighbourhood) BATTALION. ACCORDING TO THE MILITARY POLICE, A TEAM WAS MAKING A ROUTINE PATROL IN THE PALMEIRINHA COMMUNITY WHEN AFTER MIDNIGHT WAS SURPRISED BY **DRUG DEALERS**. THERE WAS AN INTENSE **EXCHANGE OF FIRE**, AND TWO ADOLESCENTS WERE HIT AND TAKEN TO THE HOSPITAL, BUT ONE OF THEM DIED”. Notice that in the first few hours after the incident, with no name or any information about the two young people that got shot, the version of the newspaper is already claiming that they were drug traders participating in an intense firefight with the Police. The Military Police (PM) was the only source cited.

⁶⁴ For the news report: <http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2015/02/uma-pessoa-morre-e-outra-fica-ferida-em-tiroteio-na-zona-norte-do-rio.html>

Also on February 21, the Brazilian government-run Empresa Brasil de Comunicação (EBC) also published about the case. Again, the incident was described as a “confrontation” between the Police and a “gang of local criminals”, and the boys were identified as suspects, as observed in the excerpt: **“THE YOUNG MAN WHO DIED WAS SUSPECT TO BE PART OF A GANG”**⁶⁵.

On the night of the 21st, a new report⁶⁶ in Portal G1 describes the event as a **“CONFRONTATION BETWEEN PMS AND SUSPECTS OF DRUG TRAFFICKING”**. The headline of the report was **“POLICE INVESTIGATES SHOOTING THAT HAD TWO PEOPLE SHOT AND GENERATED PROTESTS IN RIO”**, and just below it there was an embedded video of the television report on the event. In that video, the journalist called “vandals” the residents who protested against the death: **“A PROTEST AGAINST THE DEATH OF AN ADOLESCENT IN A CONFRONTATION WITH THE POLICE CLOSED FOR ABOUT FOUR HOURS ONE OF THE MAIN ROADS OF ACCESS TO RIO. DURING THE EARLY MORNING, VANDALS SET FIRE TO A BUS AND A TRUCK”**. New information is brought in the text: the two boys are finally named - Chauan Jambre Cesário, 19, who, according to the report, was waiting to be transferred to the prison, and Alan de Souza Lima, 15, who died. It also adds that they were armed: **“IN THE OPERATION, TWO WEAPONS WERE SEIZED WITH THE BOYS SHOT, ACCORDING TO PM. STILL, ACCORDING TO THE INVESTIGATIONS, THEY ARE SUSPECTS OF BEING PART OF A GANG”**. There is also the reinforcement that the event was a confrontation: **“ACCORDING TO THE POLICE, THE CONFRONTATION BEGAN AFTER A PATROL CAR WAS SURPRISED AND ATTACKED BY TRAFFICKERS”**. The report also informs that Chauan's family denies the involvement of the boy in the crime: **“[THE FAMILY] SAY THAT THE TWO (boys) WORKED AS SALESMEN AND HAD NO CONNECTION WITH TRAFFICKING”** and adds a quote from Chauan's father: **“I AM HERE BECAUSE MY SON IS**

⁶⁵ For the complete news report: <http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/geral/noticia/2015-02/tiroteio-e-morte-na-zona-norte-leva-moradores-e-incendiar-veiculos>

⁶⁶ <http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2015/02/policia-investiga-tiroteio-que-teve-dois-baleados-e-gerou-protesto-no-rio.html>

DEFINITELY NOT WHAT THE COPS ARE SAYING HE IS, THAT THERE WAS AN EXCHANGE OF FIRE. THAT IS NOT THE CASE. THEY CAME IN SHOOTING. IT WAS DARK. HOW ARE THEY SUPPOSED TO SEE WHO IS WHO?"

On February 22, a small note on the case in the printed version of EXTRA begins with the statement of Cesario's father: "HE IS **HANDCUFFED TO THE BED LIKE A THIEF, BUT HE IS NOT**". (EXTRA, 22/02/2015) However, once again reports the version that the two young men were hit in a "confrontation" with the Police. On the 23rd, EXTRA published another note in which although still refers to what occurred as "confrontation", affirms that Cesario does not have criminal records (EXTRA, 23/02/2015).

On February 25, a video⁶⁷ retrieved from Alan's cell phone was posted on Facebook and YouTube and quickly replicated. In the footage, a group of young people chatted and rode their bikes in one of the streets of Favela da Palmeirinha, in the Northern Zone of Rio de Janeiro. One of the boys (Alan) was carrying a cell phone recording the conversation of the group, which made jokes of themselves. At one point, Chauan Jambre Cesario, 19, jokingly chased Alan de Souza Lima, 15, to take the cell phone after a joke directed at him. Then, shots were heard at a high volume, and the two were hit. I noticed that the shots were the first to be heard in the footage, signalling that there was no confrontation between police officers and criminals at the time of the incident, and yet they are all apparently of the same calibre (they all make the same sound, very different from when there is fire coming from the drug traders as they use several different kinds of firearms), another indication that only the police were firing at that moment. The cell phone, that at that point was lying on the floor, continued to record. Lima, struck by two shots, can be heard moaning in the footage, while Cesario prayed, asking God not to die. A policeman approached him and asked why he ran, to what

⁶⁷ To watch the video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mm5E0zuZemE>

Cesario answered: “we were playing, sir”. Desperate residents can be heard screaming and crying for help in the background. Towards the end of the footage, it is possible to hear a police officer saying “get in quick” to a resident who was ready to accompany Cesario to the hospital.

The footage became viral immediately — the original video, still active, has more than 400,000 views in the Youtube account that published it first and over 1 million views in a second account that replicated the content⁶⁸.



Figure 57: Maré Vive post on Facebook about the footage

With the massive repercussion of the video, on the same day, it is possible to perceive changes in the mainstream media narrative. On that day, Portal G1 has published the headline⁶⁹: “MOBILE FILMS LAST MOMENTS OF **BOY KILLED BY PM** IN RIO”. In the article, Cesário and Lima are no longer identified as suspects, but rather as

⁶⁸ To watch a news report on the footage: <https://youtu.be/8G5w7T1RSZQ>

⁶⁹ To read the complete news report in Portuguese: <http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2015/02/celular-filma-ultimos-momentos-de-jovem-morto-por-pm-no-rio-veja.html> (Last accessed on 01/07/2018)

young people. Their names are mentioned over and over again, and there is finally room for Cesario's version to be heard. “BUT ANOTHER GUY WHO WAS ALSO SHOT DOWN DENIES THIS VERSION OF PM” it says, and go on with a quote from Chauan: “I RAN AFTER HIM JUST TO TAKE HIS MOBILE PHONE, TO STOP HIM RECORDING”. An abrupt change in the choice of words and focus that also denotes the difference in the positioning of the media institution regarding the case. If earlier the articles were inclined to the official police version that the boys were criminals hit in confrontation, after the video became viral there is more space for Cesário’s account of the event and witnesses reports, as well as more interest in presenting Cesário as a worker: “HE SELLS ICED-TEA AT IPANEMA BEACH”.

In the days that follow, the case has even more repercussion and several news outlets report it. In the newspaper O Dia of February 26, Lima is identified as “young man” and for the first time as “victim”: “VIDEO RAISES DOUBTS ABOUT THE DEATH OF A YOUNG MAN IN A POLICE OPERATION. THE VICTIM WAS TALKING TO FRIENDS”⁷⁰

⁷⁰ The news report is available here: https://odia.ig.com.br/_conteudo/noticia/rio-de-janeiro/2015-02-26/video-levanta-duvidas-sobre-morte-de-jovem-em-operacao-da-pm.html (Last accessed on 01/07/2018)

Vídeo levanta dúvidas sobre morte de jovem em operação da PM

Vítima estava conversando com amigos

O DIA

Rio - Alan Souza Lima, de 15 anos, que morreu sexta-feira após ser baleado na Favela da Palmeirinha, em Honório Gurgel, gravou pelo próprio celular seus últimos minutos de vida. Ele e dois amigos foram atingidos quando faziam um vídeo no momento em que a PM realizava uma operação na comunidade. As imagens foram divulgadas ontem pelo jornal 'Atual Rio' e mostram os jovens, desarmados, conversando e brincando uns com os outros. Chauan Jambre Cezário levou um tiro no peito, mas conseguiu sobreviver.

O vídeo mostra que dois rapazes estavam de bicicleta e riam até que começam a correr. Um minuto e quinze segundos depois, tiros são ouvidos. Mesmo depois que os rapazes caíram no chão, o celular continuou gravando e é possível ouvir os gemidos e o sofrimento dos baleados.

"Pai do Céu, ajude", diz uma das vítimas. Na gravação também surgem vozes que seriam de dois policiais militares. Um deles pergunta o motivo de eles terem corrido. "A gente estava brincando, senhor", responde um dos rapazes.

No sábado, a Polícia Civil divulgou nota dizendo que os dois foram feridos durante um confronto com PMs e que foram apreendidos um revólver e uma pistola. Após a divulgação das imagens, o comando da PM afastou temporariamente do serviço de rua os policiais envolvidos na ação e determinou a abertura imediata de um Inquérito Policial Militar (IPM). A Polícia Civil já recebeu o vídeo e aguarda laudo de confronto balístico.

Figure 58: The abovementioned report in the newspaper O Dia

Also on February 26, the headline of O Globo⁷¹ was: "SUSPICION OF FALSE 'RESISTANCE FOLLOWED BY DEATH' REPORT⁷² LEADS TO THE EXONERATION OF THE 9BPM COMMANDER". Here we can notice that the [negative] focus of the news ceases to be the shooting between the police and "traffickers" and becomes the crime committed by the police.

⁷¹ To the complete news article in Portuguese: <https://oglobo.globo.com/rio/suspeita-de-falso-auto-de-resistencia-leva-exoneracao-de-comandante-do-9-bpm-15446720> (last accessed on 18/09/2018)

⁷² The resistance followed by death reports were discussed in Chapter 3.

On the next day, El País published⁷³: “**THE POSTHUMOUS INNOCENCE THANKS TO A VIDEO RECORDED WITH A MOBILE PHONE**”. It is the first time we notice the word 'innocence' attributed to the boys by the media. The article is illustrated by Chauan wearing a T-shirt with the Brazilian flag.

≡ EL PAÍS

A inocência póstuma graças a um vídeo gravado pelo celular

Polícia diz que jovem atirou em PMs, mas vídeo gravado pela vítima desmente essa versão



AFONSO BENITES

São Paulo - 27 FEV 2015 - 22:27 CET



Figure 59: El País article from 27/02/2015

Finally, on March 2, the online version of EXTRA published⁷⁴: “**DEATH OF INNOCENT AT PALMEIRINHA: PM ADMITS HAVING SHOT THE GROUP**”.

Here the Police cease to be the ones attacked by villains, that is, the “traffickers” as initially alleged, and pass themselves into the position of villains, murderers. Illustrating the article, the photo, with the face exposed, of one of the policemen involved.

⁷³ The complete El País article: https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2015/02/27/politica/1425067518_532711.html (last accessed 18/09/2018)

⁷⁴ The complete news article: <https://extra.globo.com/noticias/rio/morte-de-inocente-na-palmeirinha-pm-admite-ter-atirado-em-grupo-15484666.html> (last accessed 19/09/2018)

02/03/15 23:12 ↻ 02/03/15 23:12

f Curtir 0

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g+1 0

Morte de inocente na Palmeirinha: PM admite ter atirado em grupo



Figure 60: EXTRA article from 02/03/2015

Looking at the news published during this short period, it is possible to reflect first on the choice of words and the potential consequences of this choice.

Initially, the victims are identified as suspects in all media institutions analysed.

According to the Cambridge dictionary⁷⁵ a suspect is:

“(noun) a person believed to have committed a crime or done something wrong, or something believed to have caused something bad”.

From this definition, it can already be understood that the initial positioning of the media outlets is that the young people affected are, in fact, criminals and were injured during a confrontation with the Police, although this version relies only in the police

⁷⁵ Available at: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/>

itself as the source and ignores the existence of the witnesses of the incident. Added to this is the context of Rio de Janeiro, which lives a routine of violence and where words such as “suspects” and “confrontation”, for example, have gained a predominantly negative bias that usually indicates involvement with drug trafficking, which leads me to the conclusion that as it was written, the story will guide the reader to believe that the boys were criminals. Considering that, all the 18 comments of the first publication in Portal G1 were negative; To illustrate, some of those comments are highlighted below:

Wilson Lopes

HÁ 4 ANOS

estes protestos já esta manjado, policiais matam bandidos, a (comunidade) faz protesto, este é o Brasil, infelizmente (*these protests are already notorious, the police kill bandits, the (community) protests, this is Brazil, unfortunately*)

Wesley Mendonça

HÁ 4 ANOS

O Brasil precisa de uma verdadeira limpa nessa escória da sociedade, ainda sonho com o dia em que todos os policiais irão se organizar e fazer uma verdadeira chacina limpando essa bandidagem toda que não faz falta nenhuma para ninguém. (*Brazil needs to do a good clean in this scum of society, I still dream of the day when all the police will organise themselves and make a real slaughter wiping off all these criminals that are a waste of space.*)

Márcio Soares

HÁ 4 ANOS

O jovem era do bem ou do mal? pelo jeito do mal e o povo faz manifestações, oh ajuda aí... (*Was the young man good or evil? It looks like he was evil and the people making demonstrations, oh please...*)

Silvio Guimarães

HÁ 4 ANOS

MORADORES? NÃO! MARGINAIS... (*RESIDENTS? NO! CRIMINALS...*)

Figure 61: Comments on the article about the incident

Immediately following the fast spread of the footage, the media outlets began to refer to the victims, especially Alan, as “young man”. The misrepresentation of the favela resident as a suspect or a criminal is a very stressed factor during the present research since this negative representation initiated centuries ago with the very emergence of favelas. In addition, it also contributes to the legitimacy of police violence against favela dwellers, as discussed in depth in Chapters 3 and 5, since the media almost always position themselves according to the police version in order to strengthen the aforementioned stigma. Therefore, it can be considered a positive result when, after the

publication of the footage and intense online discussion, an immediate change in this representation is noticed, despite the fact that initially the framing was linked to criminality, as usually there is no shift from that negative perspective whatsoever.

After the beginning of the police investigations and the undeniable contradictions brought about by the video, the media takes an opposite stance and starts to use the terms “victim” and finally “innocent” — the maximum redemption of the boy who was initially described as a suspect of being a criminal and even as a drug trafficker without evidence. According to the Cambridge dictionary:

“Victim (noun): someone or something that has been hurt, damaged, or killed or has suffered, either because of the actions of someone or something else or because of illness or chance.”

“Innocent (adjective): (of a person) not guilty of a particular crime.”


The change in word choice may seem subtle to the reader in general, but when we look at the content guided by CDA, it is essential to consider that it:

“Is concerned with the relationship between language (and to a lesser extent other modes) and power by studying how communication conceals and legitimises, or reveals and even subverts social boundaries, inequality^[1] and political or commercial agendas.” (Djonov and Zhao, 2014, p.1)

With this in mind, it is possible to gain meaning from the peculiar choice of words observed in the above case. By referring to the victims as “suspects” only a few hours after the incident, without clearing the facts and without hearing the witnesses or the one person involved who survived, the newspapers make clear their position: they were supporting the official version of the facts given by the Police, without checking, reinforcing, once again, a secular misrepresentation of the inhabitants of the favela. This predominant way of reporting the favela, based on the Police as the only source was discussed in Chapter 5.

What is written:	What is understood:	Alternative:
Suspects	The people mentioned are criminals.	use neutral words when the engagement in illicit activities has not yet been proven: young men, citizen, person

Table 22: What is written to what is understood

From		To
Suspects	A subtle change to the receiver; although the term “suspects” brings the factor of doubt, it has an immediate negative connotation. The term traffickers have more impact because of the absence of doubt, but in practice, the two are received similarly.	Traffickers
Suspects/traffickers	Significant change; in the Brazilian context, the term “suspects” or “traffickers” brings immediate negative connotation while the term “young man” depends on the whole of the report to be interpreted.	Young man/boy
Young man/Boy	A significant change; while “young man” depends on the whole of the report to gain positive	Victim

	or negative meaning, “victim” is linked to innocence, someone who suffered.	
Victim	Significant change; the two words are constantly linked, but “innocent” is the more significant of the two, leaving no doubt as to the suitability of the individual in question, as one could argue that a criminal can be a victim too.	Innocent
Suspects/traffickers	Drastic change; from “criminals” to innocents.	Innocent

Table 23: The changes in the words used

The change in word choice is the most noticeable change, but not the only one. It is important to note that initially, the boys receive little attention, although one of them has died; the focus is the protest that closed a vital avenue and caused upheaval beyond the destruction of vehicles. There is no room for witnesses, family testimony or even to hear the survivor.

Later, more information starts to be added and some space for family claims. However, the wording of the text does not support the credibility of the complaint, raising doubts: “[THE FAMILY] SAY THAT THE TWO WORKED AS SALESMEN AND HAD NO CONNECTION WITH TRAFFICKING”. By using the verb “say” to introduce the claim of Chauan's family the newspaper a) exempt itself from support the family version b) shows that they did not ascertain this information. Thus, the credibility of speech is significantly reduced. Even if there was no time to investigate the claim before publication, there were other alternatives that convey more credibility to the reader;

“according to”, for example, is used to introduce the police version and transmits more reliability.

After the release and spread of the footage the space for the recollection offered by Chauan, his relatives and other witnesses increases. The newspaper itself starts to raise doubts about the version of the Police and, finally, the police take on the negative focus assuming the position of criminals and the boys are now acclaimed as innocent victims. The roles are practically reversed.

The space that the case occupies in the news is also significant for the study. Initially, the event received little attention (there was more attention to the protest): notes, incomplete information and the Police as the only source. After the video spread on social networks witnesses were heard, the surviving victim was heard and family members too. The media began to question the attitude of the police officers and press for justice until they were arrested. If there was no video, this scenario probably would not have occurred and the media coverage would have ended with the incomplete notes of the first day (and, chances are, Chauan would be unjustly imprisoned). The raw video as irrefutable evidence is a weighty factor that balances this scale by forcing the media to do a more fair coverage, clearing the facts, listening to victims and witnesses and questioning the official version.

The case of Palmeirinha would have room in the media even without the online mobilisation due to the flagrant content of murder committed by police officers. Such was the case of Morro da Providência, discussed in Chapter 3, in which the video was sent directly to the newspaper and had enormous repercussion even before any online mobilisation could occur. But when the content is not so violent, I venture to say that the vast majority of this material is lost in denunciations in WhatsApp groups that never leave the circle of favela dwellers — house raids, destruction of property, abuses such as looking at the content of the residents' cell phones are denounced daily in these groups, often with videos, but there is no repercussion. For these cases, it is necessary to employ the mobilization force of social networks to try to break the barrier of the favela itself — the denunciation or discussion needs to rupture the boundaries of the circle of

favela residents and reach the other layers of society and this is still the great challenge of dwellers practising favela mediactivism.

On the other hand, denunciations without footage are harder to get viral and attract attention from the media and other segments of civil society. The case of Igor Firmino da Silva, for example, murdered at Maré in 2016, had very little media attention. CORE police officers killed Igor in February 2016. According to the newspapers, the Police claim that he was killed in a confrontation and was carrying a gun, a transmitting radio and bulletproof vests. The family denies his involvement in trafficking.

In social networks, residents who witnessed the death alleged that the youth had surrendered and yet was executed. As there was no material to support such allegations, his death received little attention from the media with only two reports following the first one reporting the murder: one with a video recorded by residents of the boy being placed, already dead, in the police car and another on the aggression suffered by a photographic reporter during Igor's funeral.

This chapter makes quite clear not only the lazy and prejudiced way the mainstream media reports the events taking place in the favelas, but also the need for a combination of mobilizing the residents online and evidence that substantiates the residents' allegations to force the media outlets to make a fairer coverage and to leave aside the usual criminalised representation.

PART III: Further discussion of the data and conclusion

11 The official voices, the voices of the favela: struggle for plurality

In this chapter I will further analyse the data presented in the previous chapters, reflecting on the research questions as well as on what was already known on this subject to guide this work to its conclusion and findings. McIlwaine and Moser (2007) argue that there is a lot of ignorance on how the poor perceive violence as a result of most researches being focused on an elite perspective or an academic interpretation of the reality of these people. In fact, this population still struggles to increase their representation in arts and films in Brazil, for example, and the evidence gathered by this thesis corroborates the need for more space for the favela residents narratives to which I turn now.

11.1 Official voices

Analysing the data collected and presented in the previous chapter, the first conclusion is that the narrative of the mainstream media, here considered an 'official voice', continues to be that the favela is the place, par excellence, for crime and violence. This representation was established from the 2000s, becoming hegemonic in that decade (Vaz and Baiense, 2011). It has remained dominant until the period of data collection for the present research, which took place in 2015.

As detailed in chapter 5, violence and crime in the favelas only started to gain traction in the news in the late 1980s, when a transition from the image of a 'miserable' place to a 'violent' place was evident, and was consolidated in the early 2000s. In fact, as demonstrated in the earlier chapter, by the end of the 1980s, less than half (43%) of the news that had the favela as the main theme, framed the main issue as one of violence; this number jumped to 67% of the articles in 2010 (Vaz and Baiense, 2011, p12). In 2015, 66% of the articles dealt with issues related to violence, according to the data presented in Chapter 8, which suggests stagnation⁷⁶. However, when examining only O

⁷⁶ The methodology used by Vaz and Baiense (2011) was slightly modified in order to better accommodate the two fronts analysed (newspapers and social media – as the abovementioned researchers were only working with newspapers in their research), but the core of the categorisation idea, especially with regard to identifying the main subject of the report, was maintained.

Globo's articles, compared with the data of Vaz and Baiense (2011) — which analysed only that newspaper — there is a decrease from 67% to 51% of the total of articles based on the frame of violence. The decline, however, although worth noting, was not significant enough to end the hegemony of the narrative of violence, especially when we consider both newspapers (which belong to the same media group).

Vaz and Baiense (2011) argue that this shift from the representation of poverty to the representation of crime was greatly influenced by the change in the type of crime committed — until the 1980s the robberies were mostly confined to banks and commercial establishments, and from the 90s they gave way to crimes against the person and personal property. When considering that, I not only agree with Vaz and Baiense, but also would like to note that it must be kept in mind the consolidation of so-called parallel power (the criminal factions that came to dominate the favelas of Rio), was clear from the '90s onwards. If drug trafficking was once viewed as a problem of the society as a whole (Vaz and Baiense, 2011), these criminal factions allowed the official narrative to make trafficking an inherent aspect of the favelas, and significantly contributed to this shift in their representation.

Moreover, the change from the narrative of consternation to the narrative of violence also changes the position of the reader (Vaz and Baiense, 2011). In the first, the journalist invites the reader to action, through an idea that society is indebted to the poorest and needs to do something for their benefit. The second poses the reader as a victim: “The violence that emanates from the favela and the fact that anyone can become a victim of it are the most striking characteristics in this type of reporting” (Vaz and Baiense, 2011, p13). This line of reasoning points back to the notion discussed in Chapter 3 of the “White Fear of the Black Souls” (Chalhoub, 1988), the idea that the favela and its residents can bring chaos to other areas of the city. Therefore, it can be argued that from the dominant narrative up until the '80s and the dominant contemporary narrative, the favela passes from the victim of an unequal and unjust society to the problem itself, the torment, a threat to peace and life in the city.

Acknowledging all that and considering this thesis objective of outlining the representation of the favelas over the decades, I propose the following timeline of the journalistic representation of the favelas over the last century:

- 1920s — Initially, the favela was seen as a place of great danger due to the presence of vagabonds and rascals, as well as a health problem and a place of extreme poverty (Zaluar & Alvito, 2006).
- 1950s — With its growth and expansion to other areas of the city, the favela started to be represented as a blot on the landscape, an argument used to justify the programs of removal responsible for the removal of massive populations.
- 1980s — By the early 1980s, the typical representation of the favela was of poverty and deprivation, with little emphasis on crime or violence in general. Research carried by Vaz and Baiense (2011) showed that violence was not the main image perpetuated by the media at the time. It was only at the end of the decade that the issue of violence began to gain some importance, even so, less than the half of the news (43%) analysed at that time fell into the categories crime/violence (Vaz & Bahiense, 2011).
- 1990s — During the 1990s a gradual transition can be perceived, from the image of the favela as a territory associated with poverty to a representation of the favela as a place connected to crime.
- 2000 — During the 2000s, poverty ceases to occupy space on the public agenda, being replaced by security, and the media image of the favela is consolidated as a place of crime, and the source of violence responsible for wider forms of chaos in the city.
- 2010 — In the statistical collection of the O Globo newspaper carried by Vaz and Baiense (2011) in this year, 67% of the news related to the favelas addressed issues of violence/crime, demonstrating that this kind of framing “has become hegemonic” (Vaz & Baiense, 2011).
- 2015 — The analysis carried out in this research shows that 66% of the articles that have the favela as the main subject in the two newspapers investigated focused on violence or violence-related themes.

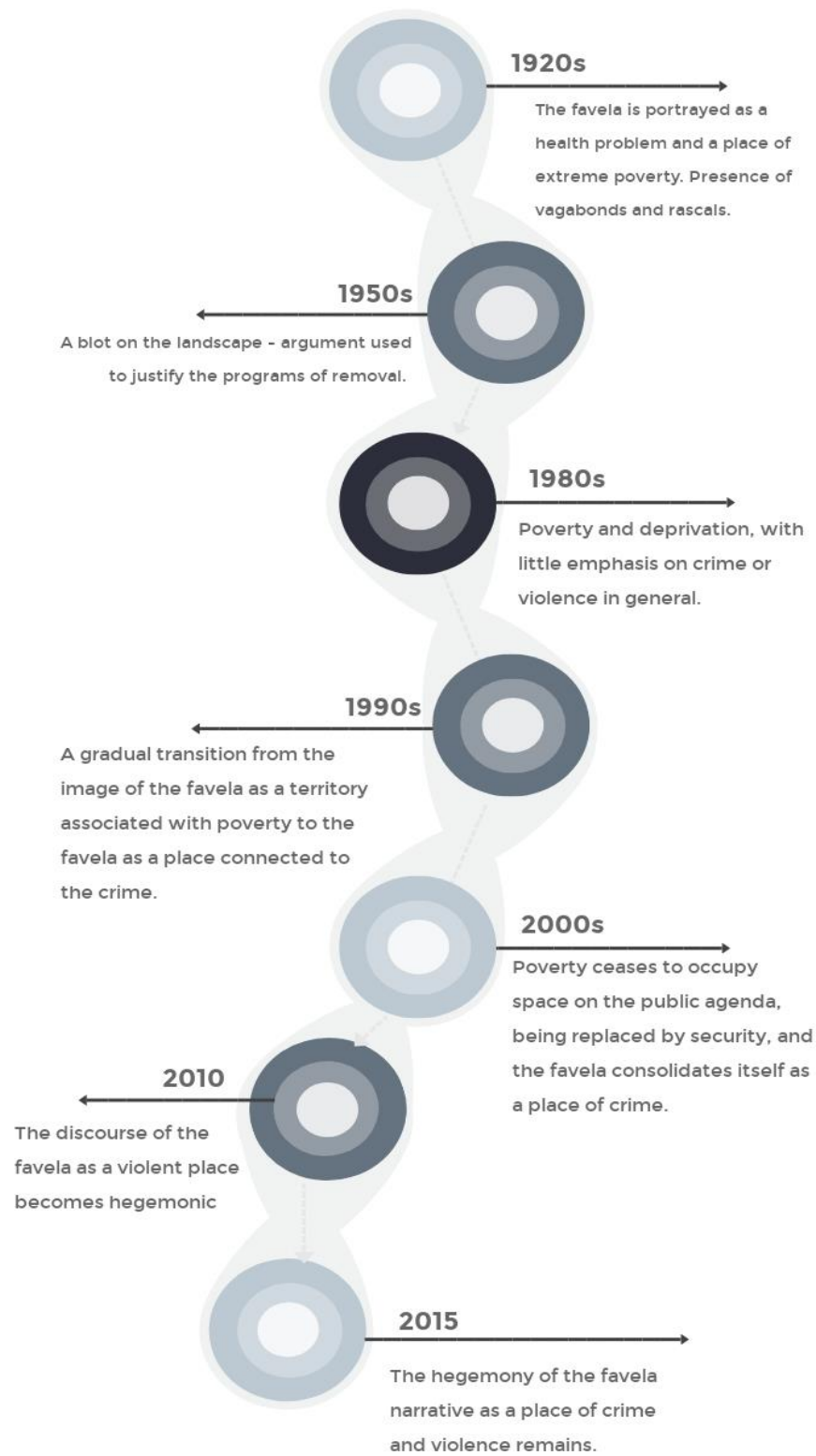


Figure 62: Favela's media representation timeline

Moving on to the contemporary representation of the favelas in the media, the data analysis, when compared with data from previous research (Vaz and Baiense, 2011, for instance), has shown that the predominance of violence in the narrative offered by O Globo has slightly decreased. On the other hand, violence remains hegemonic as the main narrative of EXTRA. Therefore, this thesis provides compelling evidence that, contrary to the initial hypothesis presented in this research, the newspaper EXTRA portrays the favela more violently and have a more negative agenda towards the favelas than O Globo, despite it being considered a more ‘popular’ paper.

This information came as a surprise as the audience of EXTRA came mostly from Class C, while O Globo has a larger audience in classes A and B. The first assumption, therefore, was that EXTRA would offer a broader view of the favela, with room for more positive articles on culture, for example. Contrary to these expectations, however, most of the space devoted to the favela in that media outlet focus on violence, not leaving many opportunities to address other subjects.

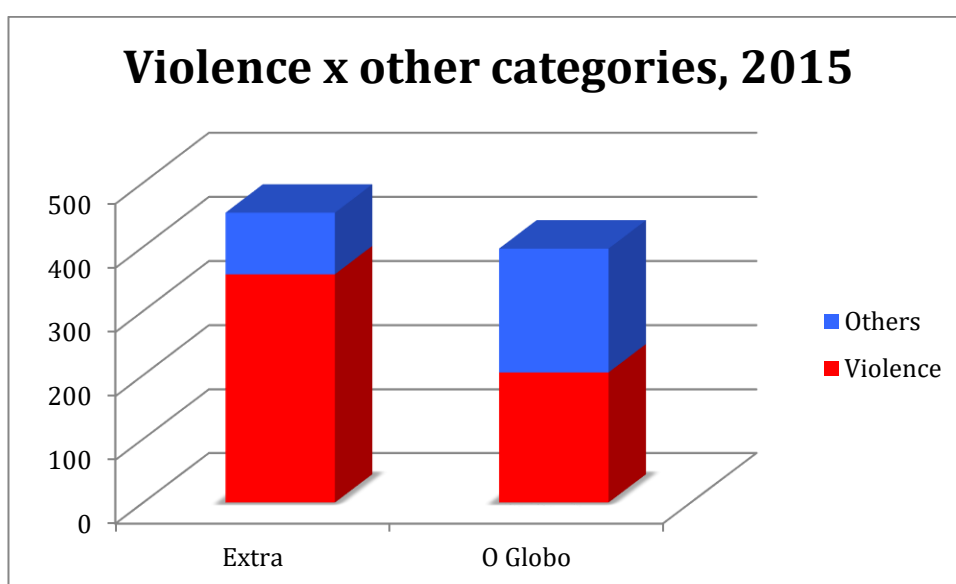


Figure 63: Violence x other categories - O Globo x EXTRA, 2015

The most appropriate explanation for this finding is the tradition to emphasise police articles in popular Brazilian media institutions. Although the newsrooms are modernising and abandoning heavy sensationalism, such as explicit photos of dead or injured people, popular newspapers still find strong appeal in crime news.

In the past decades, popular journalism in Brazil has been characterised by a style commonly known as “squeeze it that it bleeds” (Ramos and Paiva, 2007, p17) and it was based on a crime-sex-scandal tripod (Seligman, 2009), making the content extremely grotesque, with many pictures of corpses, foul language and excessive attention to cases of violence: the bloodier the better.

This extremely sensationalistic content was made to attract the popular reader, who according to what I consider a condescending attitude on the part of Brazilian media outlets, is believed, for example, not to connect to issues like the world economy, but to prefer matters closer to their reality, besides having an interest in entertainment rather than information. Amaral (2006) highlight the differences in the news selection criteria when considering the reference press (O Globo, for instance) and the popular press. In that matter, she argues that:

“The point of view of the topics covered by the popular newspapers is another because the economic, social and cultural place of the reader is different from the position of the reader of the reference newspapers (...) In the reference press, an event is more likely to be newsworthy if: the individuals involved are important, have a national impact, affect many people, generate important developments, are related with public policies and can be disclosed exclusively. In the popular press, a fact is more likely to be reported if it: has entertainment capacity, is geographically or culturally close to the reader, can be simplified, can be narrated dramatically, has characters identified with readers (personalisation), or it is useful” (Amaral, 2006, p3 and p4).

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, this scenario began to change. The emergence of new popular newspapers, among them EXTRA, and the closing or reformulation of traditional representatives of the category “squeeze it that it bleeds” — the icon of appealing journalism 'Notícias Populares' closed its doors in 2001 in São Paulo, while in Rio de Janeiro the main representative of the category, 'O Povo', underwent significant editorial reformulation, abandoning the use of sensationalist tools such as photos of corpses — brought changes to the way of making popular news.

Although violence remains prominent in the pages of these outlets, the style adopted by the new popular newspapers, including Extra, is less sensationalist. Addressing that issue, Seligman (2009) writes that:

“Violence remains a subject, but the shocking images are increasingly rare. In place of the foul language, eschatology and invented articles, the newspapers seek simple language, didacticism, service provision and credibility.” (Seligman, 2009, p148)

Even though this may be the case, it is clear that, despite the movement to abandon the sensationalistic framing and news selection, these outlets maintain violence as the flagship of their editorials, emphasising the police coverage, albeit in a more subtle way. Coverage of small crimes will rarely be found in O Globo, for instance, which deals more with national and collective interest, but in Extra it is possible to see notes and reports on violent events considered of local importance only. As Amaral (2006) explains, the change that popular newspapers underwent is not synonymous with quality. According to her, “the subjects of interest are those that immediately affect the life of the population” (*Ibid.*, p2) and thus the demands of the reader often overlaps with the social role of the press, staying above collective concerns and generating a new paradigm where public interest is stifled by what interests the public.

Thus, we return to the case of the Extra newspaper that despite having part of its readership systematically using social networks to ask for more space and a more positive way of mediating the favela, it continues to devote its pages to violent events in a predominant way. This is perhaps due to the fact that there are two conflicting behaviours involved: the favela people asking for new forms of favela mediation is, at some extent, the same public that identifies themselves with and consumes popular newspapers with more straightforward content and with emphasis on criminal cases.

At this point, it is essential to engage with the role of journalism in society briefly. Amaral (2006, p10) argues that “Journalism works, par excellence, to the public interest, and for ethical reasons, its object should be the public interest and not what interests the public”. Having said that, EXTRA continues to give more space to crime in

detriment of a more positive agenda, meeting, to some extent, what interests the public, yet failing, I conclude, to fulfill its social role as a media institution that is working for the public interest, which, in this case, would mean the adoption of an editorial position that emphasises the positive characteristics of the favela (without ignoring the violence, especially the residents' denunciation of it), and as a result contributing to a representation of the favela which goes beyond its reputation as a place of crime and violence.

Observing the data and in comparison with the material obtained from social media, it can also be noticed that the mainstream media did not report even the significant positive events in the favelas, such as carnival, Christmas and children's day parties, that brought together a massive amount of people. Other neighbourhoods of the city have coverage for this type of event, such as the carnival blocks that parade in the South zone and the June festivals throughout the city. Not even EXTRA, which could have placed this information in the service category - considering that its public "purchases newspapers in search of service and entertainment" (Amaral, 2006, p2) - gave room to this type of agenda. In fact, as noted before, EXTRA dedicated even less space than O Globo to categories other than violence, and portrayed the favela in a predominantly negative way. This brings this discussion to another critical point: how events are reported, to which I now turn.

One can argue that it is impossible to detach the favela from the image of crime and violence since these spaces suffer from the constant war between the police forces and the criminal factions and live a routine of violence. However, it is essential to clarify that what I am defending in this work is not that the media should fail to report or ignore the violent events — because they happen daily — but rather that they should open space for another agenda, showcasing the culture, gastronomy, art and many other positive aspects of favela communities.

The most significant problem about the current representation of the favela highlighted by this research, is not the isolated fact of having a large number of articles addressing violence, but rather the way this account is worded or presented, and the difference

between this approach and how other sectors of society are portrayed. As discussed in Chapter 5, the extreme dependence on the police as the sole source of information, is one of the pillars of this problematic representation. The police cannot be the only source in reporting a conflict of which they are part.

On this matter, Maia (2017, p61) writes that the hegemonic discourse of the media, which associated favela dwellers with banditry, drug trafficking and crime in general, was primarily responsible for justifying the ideology of mass imprisonment and even the extermination of this population. Custódio (2014b, p150), supported by Ramos and Paiva (2007) and Penglase (2007) argues that “historically, news and representations of *favelas* in the dominant private mainstream media have reinforced discriminatory stereotypes”. Maia (2017) explains that while the association of favela dwellers with crime increased, so did the encouragement of a policy of extermination. He then offers an analysis of how the misrepresentation of the favela residents is a leading factor in the legitimization of the violence against its people:

“Hegemonic literacy regimes were, therefore, as in the dynamics of urban space hygiene, agents of great relevance in encouraging this different understanding, more focused on the practice of crime by the occupants of the favelas than in their immersion in an environment of poverty and unsanitary conditions. From them, texts were produced, from the most diverse social sects, which sought primarily to attack the favelas existence in its moral dignity (...) the television news and printed newspapers were undoubtedly two of the main vehicles capable of supporting the products of hegemonic literacy regimes that have stigmatized favelas according to the perspective of crime and contravention.”
(Maia, 2017, p61-62)

This thesis corroborates this view and argues that the media discourse not only helps to justify the abovementioned ideology but is the pillar that sustains the legitimacy of police violence in the favelas. Coupled with the literary evidence, the Content Analysis presented in this thesis paints a compelling view of the differences in how the media reports the favelas, compared to the ‘formal’ city. When violent events occur in other

areas of the city, witnesses, experts in the area and family are heard, but when the death is in the favela the only source heard is, in the vast majority of the cases, the police. Not only do the media fail to investigate the story adequately but they also portray the individuals differently. Whereas a young male from the favela is portrayed as a suspect or a drug dealer (even without any evidence), those from wealthy areas are portrayed simply as “young men” or residents.

This distortion of coverage has helped bias public opinion in the country against the favelas and in favour of, not only more police, but increasingly more violent police. The recent election of President Jair Bolsonaro under the motto “a good thief is a dead thief”, the facilitation of gun ownership in Brazil, and the hardening of public security policies, is an indication that the criminalization of the favelas in the media has contributed to a perspective that defends drastic measures to combat the violence that emanates from the criminal factions. The demand is to fight that violence with equally or more violent police, bringing chaos to the favelas in the process, and without worrying about the innocents who die. As discussed in Chapter 5, the Colonel of the Military Police and president of the Brazilian Forum of Public Security, Augusto Severo, explains that the legitimacy for the acts of the Police is given by public opinion, and the institution that helps to shape public opinion is the media (Ramos and Paiva, 2007, p47). The Colonel adds that “The relationship between the Military Police and the media is still one of love and hate. When we are successful, we want the press to cover our activities; when we do not know how to give an adequate answer to a problem, we would like it to stay away” (*Ibid*), confirming that the police rely on the media to legitimate its actions.

11.2 Favela voices

After completing the data collection and individual analysis of each media outlet studied, the first comparative analysis tried to understand how the reports emanating from the favela differ from the mainstream media reports. The primary subject to be discussed is that defining the phenomenon observed in the favelas as “favela media activism”, entails differentiating between this specific concept and the much more broader definition offered by the concept of community or alternative media. This

choice is justified by the need to focus more specifically on the particular events of the favelas which, as a unique space, full of peculiarities, offers exclusive and diverse ways of both practicing and contextualizing media activism.

On this matter, Custódio (2016) justifies his choice for using the term favela to ‘define’ which kind of media activism he is talking about, precisely by explaining that the term not only designates a physical space but also designates “spaces of action, a political identity and the targets of civic actions” (Ibid, p83). This definition of Custódio, when considering spaces of action, (collective) political identity and an antagonistic (target) of the activities cited, connects favela activism to the concepts of Social Movements, to which I now turn.

Toch (1965, apud Opp 2009, p35) defines social movements as "effort[s] by a large number of people to solve collectively a problem that they feel they have in common". Jenkins and Form (2005, apud Opp 2009, p35) also argue that "Social movements have traditionally been defined as organised efforts to bring about social change", while Zald, McCarthy and Gamson (2017, p339) consider that “social movements are voluntary collectivities that people support in order to effect changes in society”, Zald and Ash (1966, apud Opp 2009, p35) suggest that "A social movement is a purposive and collective attempt of a number of people to change individuals or societal institutions and structures", and finally, Maiba (2005, p42) states that social movements are “a sustained interaction (formal as well as informal) among individuals, groups, collectives, networks, and organisations that share a collective identity in order to bring about, prevent, or undo social, political and cultural change outside the established political institutions through extra-parliamentary tactics.” All of these definitions have in common a group of individuals acting through a common interest in influencing the decisions of a target (outside the collectivity) to achieve a goal that involves a change in their social reality. Favela dwellers alone cannot change the reality of violence and abandonment to which they are subjected. No matter how much they come together in joint efforts to build sewage networks or appropriate places to dispose of trash, for example, they will never be able to create the adequate living conditions they want without the support of the State. Concerning violence, the situation is even more

complicated as the role of Police in the routine of armed conflict is central, and no preventive action by residents themselves can change that. Therefore, in the favelas, it can be considered that there is a group of people who identify themselves through a collective identity (that of *favelados*), acting around a common interest, to pressure civil society and the government to guarantee decent living conditions in the favela population, eradicating violence through effective public safety policies, and bringing essential services (sanitation, electricity, paving, garbage collection) and constitutional guarantees (health, education) to these areas. In this context, it is essential to note that collective identity is understood as: “an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution.” (Poletta and Jasper, 2001, p285). In the case of favelas, this collective identity is linked to the occupied space (the favela) and the set of socio-cultural characteristics attributed to the occupants of such space (see chapter 4). In conclusion, the main criteria (collective of individuals, shared change-oriented goals, activity, continuity) used to define social movements by theorists (della Porta and Diani 2006, Zald, McCarthy and Gamson 2017, Tarrow 1998, Tilly 1978, Maiba 2005) can all be seen in favela media activism, placing this phenomenon under the umbrella of social movements theory. Favela media activism even goes a little further regarding the individuals: in the favelas, they not only organise themselves in actions towards shared goals, but they are also connected through a collective identity that although it has been studied as a way to explain some gaps in the mobilisation of people (Poletta and Jasper, 2001) within social movements, it is not a major criterion on its definition.

Social Movements scholars have been especially drawn to observe how "activists mobilise collective action as they engage in protests" (Ganesh and Zoller, 2012, p67). According to della Porta and Diani (2006, p5), the study of social movements means paying attention to "how ideas, individuals, events, and organisations are linked to each other in broader processes of collective action, with some continuity over time". When looking into favela media activism, it is important to reflect on the purpose (the ideas) of the collective efforts (activism, protest) of these individuals. In response to this position, this thesis considered that although contemporary activism is vast in its “repertoire of contention” (McCurdy, Feigenbaum and Frenzel, 2016; della Porta and

Diani, 2006; Tilly, 1978), the critical concepts linked to it are "contestation (...) advocacy, conflict and transgression" (Ganesh and Zoller, 2012, p69) and the term is generally defined as "the practices of individuals challenging the status quo in order to bring about social, political, or economic change" (Harlow and Guo, 2014, p465). Considering that throughout the years the activists had been relying on the media to disseminate their ideas (Harlow and Guo, 2014) and historically the mainstream media have been portraying activists in a biased perspective that discredits their actions (McLeod & Hertog, 1999), the emergence of social networks has brought about significant changes in the ways of practicing activism. According to Macleod (2016, p91), online tools are used as "a mediator between events in the streets and the network of people supporting a cause." In the specific case of the favelas, the social media tools act as the means through residents seek to have their voices heard (especially in protests against living conditions in the favelas) in actions that use social networks as an alternative media trying to "combat negative representation and to galvanise and organise activity" (MacLeod, 2016, p91). In that sense, the popularisation of the internet and consequently of smartphones and social networks among the poor population (particularly within the favelas) resulted in collective efforts (in a sense of collective identity in which the individual actions are all guided through the notion of a common goal, even when a person is acting "alone") to denounce the abuses that the favela resident suffers and are not reported by the mainstream media, therefore "unseen by the eyes of society outside the favela" (Custódio, 2014b, p150). During this research I have encountered many forms of said abuse: the relationship with the Police, full of beatings, humiliations, illegal house-breaking among other human rights violations, are among those that draw the most attention. However, different forms of arbitrary treatment, such as forced removals, police operations during school hours (putting children at risk or preventing classes), lack of essential services such as running water and sewage treatment can be included in the list. This type of abuse is only seen on a large scale in big Brazilian cities in the favelas and, therefore, the favelas reveal, in a very particular way, the phenomenon of the use of social networks to challenge not only the media but also the government: if in other parts of the city citizens use social networks to claim rights, in the favelas that use has become a matter of survival; either to avoid being

caught in the middle of the crossfire, to denounce arbitrary actions in police actions or to challenge the media when a resident is portrayed as a criminal, for instance. This type of abuse is only seen on a large scale in the favelas of big Brazilian cities, wherein favela residents live in a very particular way and use social media to challenge not only mainstream popular opinion, but also the government. If in other parts of the city citizens use social networks to both exercise - if not articulate civil and human rights, in the favelas that use has become a matter of survival; either to avoid being caught in the middle of a crossfire; to denounce arbitrary police actions; or to challenge conventional discourse when a favela resident is wrongly portrayed as a criminal by the media.

Finally, when reflecting again on the specific concept chosen to guide this work, it is vital to have in mind that to Custódio (2016, p83), “in acting from and for favelas, not only do residents enact citizenship, but also contest the differentiated citizenships typical of socially unequal and class-hierarchical Brazil”. This reflection on how citizens enact citizenship through media activism takes us back to Rodriguez’s (2001, p20) thoughts on citizen journalism in which she argues that collectivity achieves its citizenship by intervening and consequently altering the media-scape. This can be seen as evidence of a strong connection between the concept of citizen journalism and favela media activism, placing the latter more closely to citizen journalism than other concepts as community media. With that and the discussion from chapter 7 in mind, this work will defend its choice of favela media activism as one that was motivated by the need to analyse the activism in the favelas without ignoring all its particularities but still being connected to the concept of citizen journalism – thus, I conclude this reflection on said choice with Custódio’s explanation of the impacts of favela media activism, which helped to guide the analysis presented in this thesis, and defends that favela media activism comprises “the individual and collective actions of favela residents in, through and about media” (Custódio, 2016, p82) and, as a result:

“These contesting actions derive from and/or lead to the enactment of citizenship among favela residents. By engaging in media activism inside, outside and across favelas, favela residents raise critical awareness among peers,

generate public debates, and mobilize actions against or in reaction to material and symbolic consequences of social inequality in their everyday lives. (*Ibid*)

Moving on to the data analysis, considering that the data was collected from the mainstream media and social media during the same period (ensuring that the possible events to be reported were the same), the category “Violence” stood out. In contrast to all other categories, a significant aberration is noticeable: EXTRA and Voz da Comunidade are practically binary opposites, with EXTRA offering coverage with a virtually integral focus on violence and Voz da Comunidade offering a coverage that ignores it.

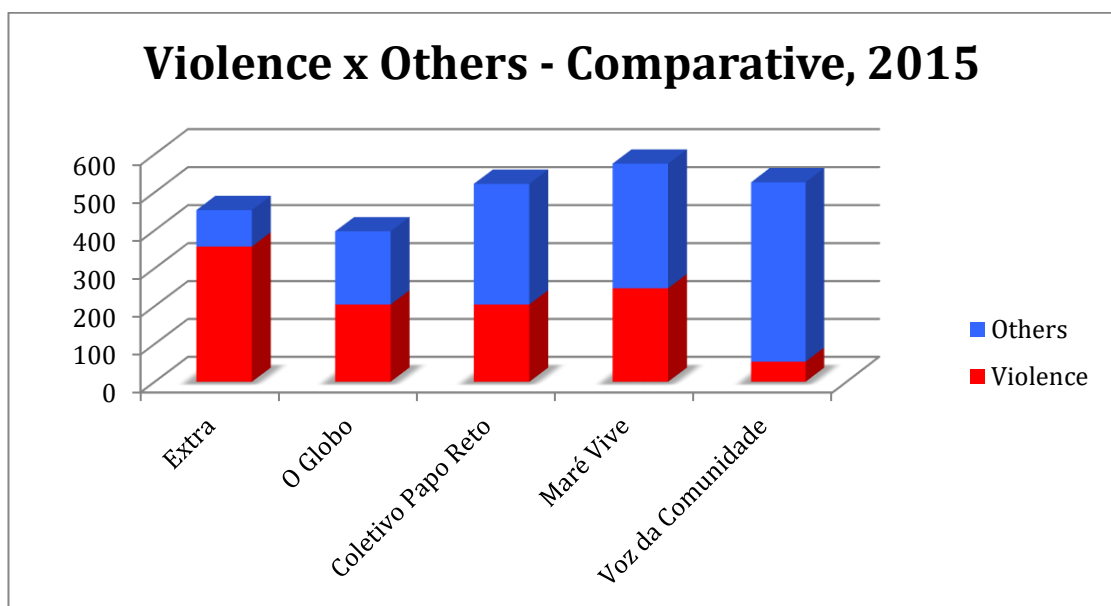


Figure 64: Violence x Other categories, 2015

A situation similar to that observed in the work of the Voz da Comunidade was experienced and documented by the Viva Favela Project (discussed in Chapter 5), when community correspondents avoided addressing issues related to violence and emphasised only the positive side of the favela, the “good favela” (Ramalho, p35). In the case of Viva Favela, the journalists who worked together with the residents who acted as community correspondents were responsible to avoid an excessively positive picture, contrasting with the negative representation of the mainstream media yet equally biased. Considering that, Voz da Comunidade does not have experienced journalists in its team to advise against this bias and when analysing the content

produced by the group in 2015, it can be noticed that although there is not a “false” emphasis on the positive side of the favela (the events reported existed), the violent incidents that occurred during the period were ignored or received less attention than their relevance required. The comparative tone chart presented bellow confirms the emphasis on the positive favela in the work of that group:

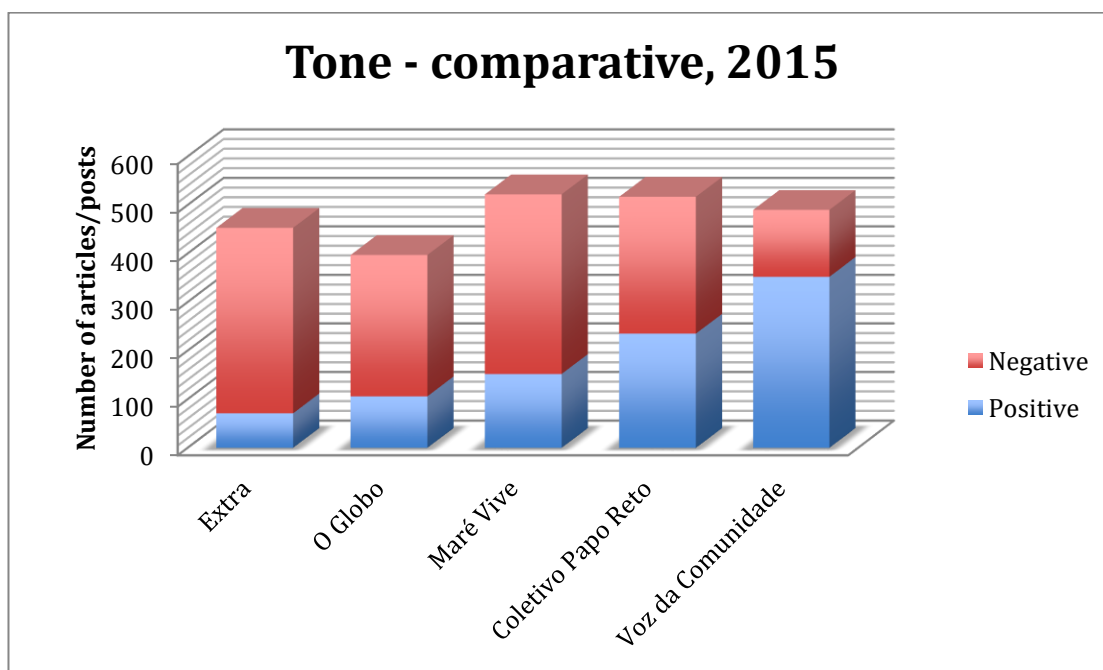


Figure 65: Tone, 2015 - comparative

This predominantly positive approach would not be problematic if Voz da Comunidade declared itself as a newsgroup with a focus on culture and leisure, for example. However, as a general coverage initiative, it offers an overly positive orientation that does not match the reality of the favelas at the time analysed, generating a frame as distorted as the negative trend offered by the mainstream media — in a decade or two, if the situation in the favelas changed dramatically and someone decided to read the content published by Voz da Comunidade on Facebook in 2015, one would believe that the favelas were a safe environment with many cultural events, several leisure options and free of problems of violence and police abuse. It is, therefore, necessary that the intention of the group to offer coverage focused primarily on positive events in the favela is clear, so that there is no wondering on a positive bias when reading their content.

Analysing in depth the content produced by the Voz da Comunidade, it is also noticeable a second critical point: the excessive neutrality or complete absence of opinion in the group's posts on Facebook. Most of the updates do not bring criticism or reflection — they do not transmit any opinion, just the information about what happened, the publicising of some event or the reproduction of content, often of the group's own blog. While it would be excellent news that the violence did not occupy the position of the main narrative in any month of 2015 or that there were only a handful of negative criticisms to be made about the situation of the favelas, if this offered an accurate real picture of the place, what can be noted here is an excessive desire to show the positive side of the favelas, without thinking about the need to show the real favela, coupled with the lack of a clear political orientation that would allow the group to fight for change. This absence of a reflexive tone or a critical position distances the group from the concept of “favela media activism”, which predicts that the activities of these groups help to raise critical awareness and generate public debates about living conditions in the favelas (Custódio, 2016) and also meaning that “in favelas, media activists challenge negative media representations” (Custódio, 2014a, p1), a feature not very noticeable in the material produced by the group on Facebook and analysed in this research.

Therefore, the group places great emphasis on positive news, leaving aside the fight for better living conditions, choosing not to position themselves critically in the political discussion over life in the favela. To illustrate that though, one could consider the event of the death of the boy Eduardo de Jesus. The group did not discuss what happened on their Facebook page, limiting themselves to reporting, without much emphasis, that a boy had died. In the chart below, the absence of a critical reflection exercise on the Voz da Comunidade page is evident in comparison with the other two groups of media activists studied:

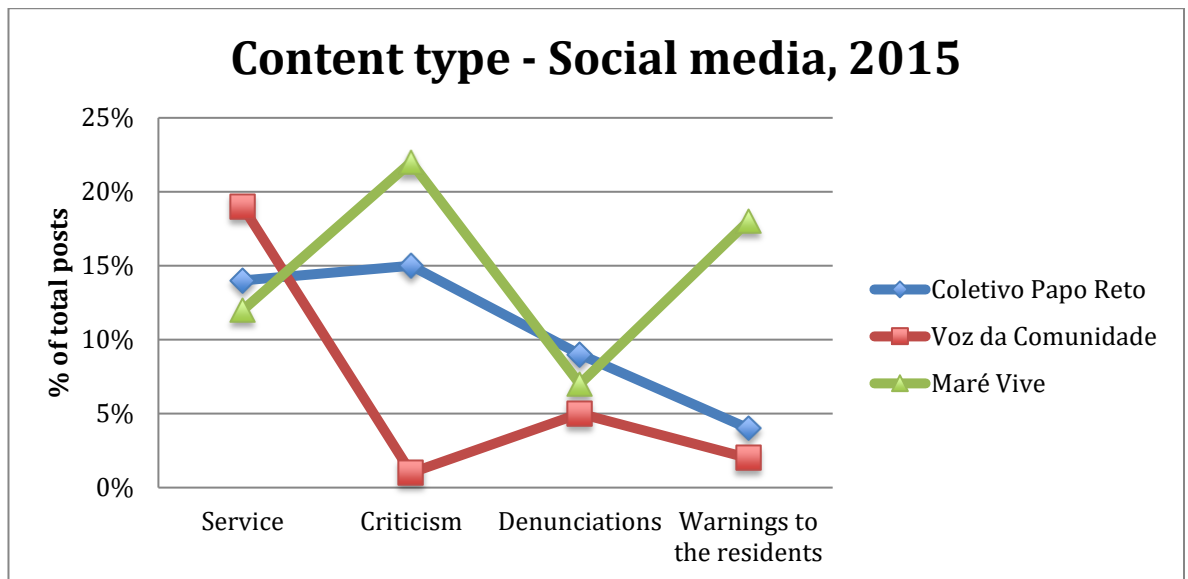


Figure 66: Content type (as previously explained in page 103), 2015 – comparative

To conclude, it is also important to note that a large number of Voz da Comunidade posts on Facebook were just a reproduction or call to action (using weblinks) to the content posted on the group's website. This practice misuses an environment that has enormous potential for mobilisation and debate (a page in which followers can interact with 'likes' or comments, even lading to discussions with other residents), making it void of arguments by supposedly taking⁷⁷ the follower to a vertical environment where there is the figure of the provider (Voz da Comunidade) and recipient of the information, with only one field of comments for interaction, a scenario entirely different from social networks.

Considering the three groups of favela media activists studied, Coletivo Papo Reto is the one that presents a more balanced content production. With a very critical profile, the activists not only initiate debates on the situation in the favela, involving the other residents in the discussion, but also organise themselves in real life protests. The activities of the group, in 2015, focused on the presence of the UPP in the Complexo do Alemão and police violence; on several different occasions the group stated: “The police can not mediate a conflict of which it is part”.

⁷⁷ Considering the conversion rate of the weblinks, once not all the people that will see the post on Facebook will click on the link.

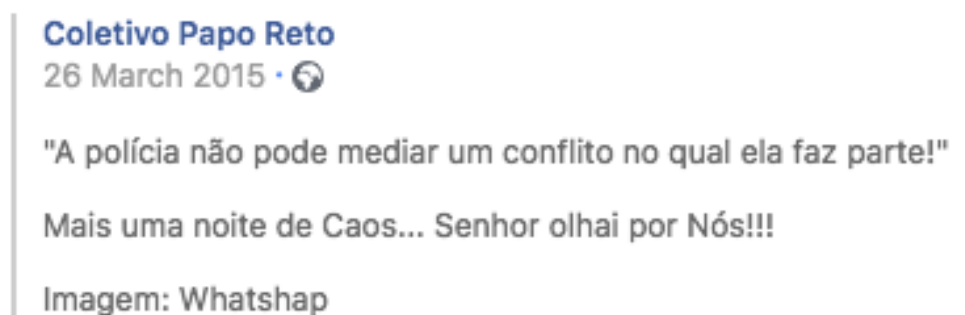


Figure 67: Papo Reto on Facebook on 26/03/2015: “The police cannot mediate a conflict of which it is part!”

Likewise, Maré Vive, although slightly more negative than 'Papo Reto', also presents a certain balance between news about violence and other issues, not to mention that the group plays an important role in alerting residents about risk situations in the favela. About 18% of the group's posts in 2015 were to warn about shootings and police operations. The activists almost daily ask the residents that follow them on Facebook: “Hello residents...how is everything in our communities?”. That is an invitation to the dwellers to report whether the locality in which they live (Maré consists of 16 favelas) are experiencing any conflicts or situations that are worth to be reported, especially related to police operations and shootings. Furthermore, the group is even more critical than 'Papo Reto', with criticisms representing a total of 22% of the posts; once again the violent actions of the Police in the favelas and the omission of the State are the primary target of criticism.

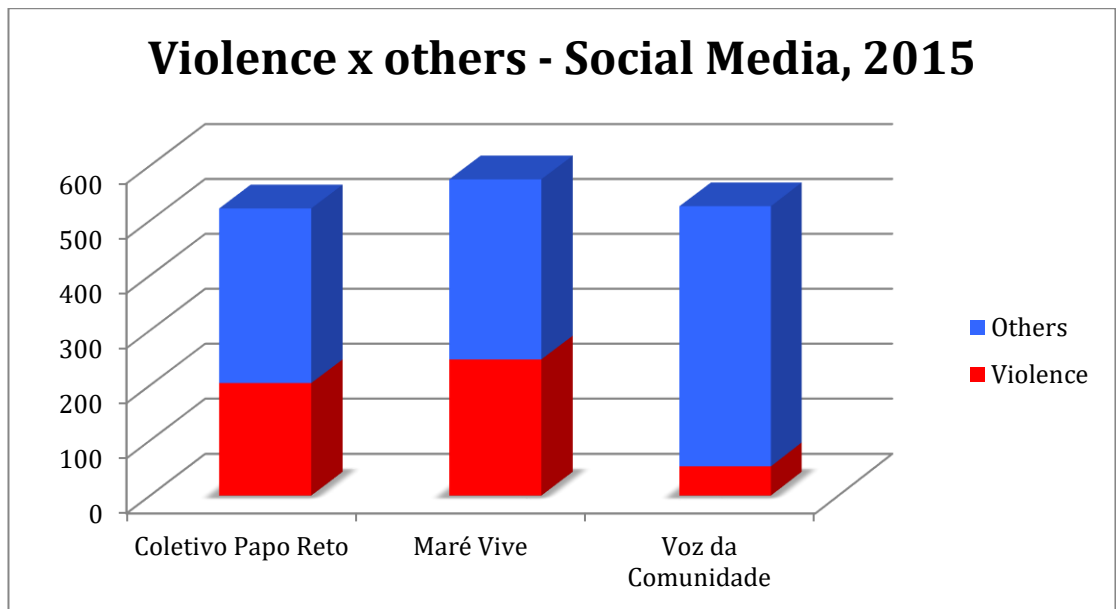


Figure 68: Violence x Other categories, 2015 - Social Media

While we may argue that this balanced picture between news of violence and other more positive news such as cultural events, for instance, is probably closest to reality, this approach is not enough to offer a counterpart to the favela representations in the mainstream media, since they are framed in a mainly negative way, emphasising only the violence and criminality. Therefore, when this mostly violent version is confronted with a balanced version, such as that offered by Coletivo Papo Reto, this balanced version is not enough to challenge the official narrative concerning the favela. That is to say, it is necessary that the residents engaged in favela media activism in order to change the narrative about the favela to work on two fronts: one is to continue to discuss issues of violence, report abuses, and criticise the State and fight for better living conditions in the favela. The other is to emphasise the cultural agenda, especially specific manifestations of the favela such as the “passinho” dance or the local funk music.

Vaz and Baiense (2011) argue that the violent representation of the favela over the years has created a specific cognitive universe that makes us interpret all the news about the favela always under the umbrella of violence:

“The idea of a violent, segregated space of the city and dominated by a 'parallel power' reproduced in reports on the activity of the traffickers, impregnated with

meaning the representation of the Rio de Janeiro's favelas and created a specific cognitive universe from which we come to interpret the events connected to it. It is always against the background of crime that we analyse the stories about the favela, be those whose theme corroborates this fundamental idea, be those that focus on 'positive' events, in which we learn to recognise the exception.” (Vaz and Baiense, 2011, p2)

With this in mind, it is necessary to consider the need to work on the positive side of the favela regularly so that over the next few years this image, that “specific cognitive universe” (*Ibid*) through which we interpret the favela, may be more positive. However, care must be taken not to fall into the overly positive version of the favela, as exemplified by the discussion on the work of Voz da Comunidade. In conclusion, it is not a question of offering a nonexistent version of reality (an artificial version of the favela without conflicts and without violence). Instead, the goal should be to seek to emphasise local events and culture in parallel with criticism and political engagement, both being part of the work associated with activism. To further illustrate this point, during the research, I noticed that local events that were extensively publicised by Voz da Comunidade were not even mentioned by Papo Reto. Both groups are located in Complexo do Alemão making it quite clear that, for Papo Reto, it is not a priority to emphasise the positive side of the favela.

Above all, even though there is criticism of the still poor coverage of favela art and cultural events, and more work is needed on the positive agenda to be addressed, the work of the groups Papo Reto and Maré Vive demonstrated an excellent potential to bring more results regarding the fight for voice and representation. Nevertheless, Voz da Comunidade, although distancing themselves from the activist role, work in a way that can contribute to other struggles.

The work of these residents engaged in media activism is able to gain more space for the favela in the mainstream media but, more importantly, to combat police violence through the dissemination of the habit of filming, whenever there is an opportunity, the police action in the favelas. In addition to the cases discussed earlier in chapter 3, in the

case of the boy Eduardo de Jesus, witnesses reported that there was an attempt by the police to change the crime scene, repositioning Eduardo's body and placing a weapon to incriminate him (Anistia Internacional, 2015). Such an attempt was frustrated by the presence of residents who confronted the police and warned that they would film the action. This leads this discussion to the use of mobile phones, not only as a means of denunciation, but as a weapon of defence against police brutality in the favelas, to which I now turn.

11.3 Mobile revolution: raw footage in the epicentre of the fight

After analysing the case of Alan and Chauán in the previous chapter, or that of Morro da Providência in chapter 3, and reflecting on similar situations like that of the young Igor Firmino da Silva, also mentioned in the previous chapter, one detail becomes quite prominent: the existence of evidence, especially in video, has become essential for the reports coming from favela residents to reach the mainstream media and gain space on the public agenda. The flagrant in photo or video of police violence practically guaranteed the attention of the mainstream media in the mentioned cases and became so important as a form of social resistance to human rights violations committed in the favelas that the “Witness” organization established a partnership with Coletivo Papo Reto to disseminate techniques and tips on how to effectively and safely film police violence in the favelas. According to their website: “WITNESS makes it possible for anyone, anywhere to use video and technology to protect and defend human rights”.

COMO FILMAR VIOLÊNCIA POLICIAL NA FAVELA

COM CELULAR



SE NÃO SENTIR SEGURANÇA, NÃO FILME

1 Avalie todos os riscos para você e para as pessoas que você pretende filmar. Analise o cenário, sempre considerando, se há mais pessoas que possam acompanhar sua ação. Se não estiver seguro não grave.

2

USE O CELULAR NA POSIÇÃO HORIZONTAL

Dessa forma você garante uma 'janela' de vídeo maior e com mais informações. Tente evitar mover muito o celular, foque no seu fato e mantenha a mão firme. Se for possível (e se você tiver memória e bateria suficientes), filme sem cortes para que a ação seja registrada do início ao fim.



3

FILME DETALHES

Se for possível grave identificação de farda, rostos, numeração e placa de viaturas, cápsulas, armas, símbolos de patentes. Todos esses detalhes podem ser filmados em sequência, sem parar de filmar. Ideal que uma pessoa olhe o que está acontecendo ao redor de você enquanto você grava, para te avisar de possíveis riscos.



4

REGISTRE HORA E LOCAL DO FATO

Grave placas de rua, relógios de pulso e demais informações que assegurem o local e a hora dos fatos gravados. Se for impossível fazer isso, considere registrar no começo do vídeo com sua voz. Por exemplo: 'Estou aqui às 4 horas da tarde, do dia 2 de abril de 2015 na Rua Canitar número 4...' mas evite dizer coisas que você não tem certeza, fale só o que você viu ou consegue provar.



5

BUSQUE INFORMAÇÕES COMPLEMENTARES

Algumas vezes quando filmamos um fato, precisamos contar o que aconteceu antes, para contextualizar o ocorrido. Nesse caso considere buscar outras informações. Como laudos médicos, documentos da vítima, marcas de disparos em paredes próximas, alguma matéria de imprensa que cite o caso, e talvez produzir entrevista com testemunhas. Nesse último caso, considere ter o acompanhamento de um advogado, e esconder a identidade da pessoa, cobrindo seu rosto ou filmando suas mãos. Ideal que seja feita em local silencioso (para um bom áudio) e sempre avaliando a segurança de todos. Evite a casa da testemunha ou locais que possam ser identificados pelo vídeo.



6

ENVIE O VÍDEO PARA PESSOAS DE CONFIANÇA

Pense em compartilhar seu vídeo com pessoas de confiança, organizações de direitos humanos, advogados ou jornalistas que podem usar as imagens para dar visibilidade às necessidades dos moradores. Mas tente não apagar o vídeo do seu celular até que você tenha uma cópia do arquivo original em outro local seguro. Se for compartilhar o vídeo nas redes, primeiro avalie se as imagens podem colocar a comunidade, a família da vítima ou você em perigo. Se sim, não compartilhe.



7

CHAME OUTRAS PESSOAS PARA FILMAR

Quando decidir começar a gravar seu vídeo, chame outras pessoas para filmar. Quanto mais pessoas filmando mais difícil de perder o registro e também dificulta a perseguição policial, uma vez que é mais difícil prender várias pessoas e celulares.

8

EXERÇA SEU DIREITO DE FILMAR

A Constituição brasileira garante: você tem o direito de filmar e fotografar a polícia em espaços públicos e nenhum policial pode te obrigar a parar de filmar ou apagar suas imagens. Ainda assim, mantenha a tranquilidade e acate a ordem se a sua segurança estiver ameaçada.

9

LEIA E PASSE ADIANTE

Faça essa informação chegar ao máximo de pessoas possíveis. Veja outros materiais como esse: <http://pt.witness.org/tutoriais>

Figure 69: WITNESS Guide on how to film police violence in the favelas, using mobile phones

Although discussions on the matter have intensified recently, the awareness of the need for irrefutable evidence in cases of police violence permeates the activism in the favelas for, at least, over a decade. According to the residents, there are countless cases where, without evidence, only their testimony is not sufficient to even be heard by the journalists. Added to the fact that witnesses are seldom heard in cases of 'resistance followed by death' (as discussed in Chapter 3), crimes committed by police officers in the favelas cease to exist, from a legal point of view, since there is no evidence or witnesses, only the police officers themselves as the source.

In the moments immediately after the death of Eduardo de Jesus, the residents were heard asking for “someone with a camera (...) to film”⁷⁸, not only highlighting the importance of this type of material in the life of favela residents, but also the awareness of these dwellers that the video has become a powerful denunciation and defence tool inside the favelas. To Carlos Coutinho, from Coletivo Papo Reto, the police attitude also changes when they perceive the presence of cameras, and according to him, the policemen know that they will not be able to tamper with the crime scene when there is somebody filming. Thainã Medeiros, also from Papo Reto, explains that the presence of the group, who was one of the first to arrive at the place of Eduardo's death, guaranteed the integrity of that crime scene.

In an emblematic case, the photographer and resident of Maré Naldinho Lourenço photographed the body of Matheus Rodrigues, eight years old, killed by the police when he was leaving his house to buy bread⁷⁹ on December 4, 2008, in Baixa do Sapateiro, Maré. Lourenço was part of the 'Imagens do Povo' project⁸⁰, focused on photographing the positive side of the favela which did not usually cover deaths. The photograph had significant repercussions because it captured Matheus's hand, the only part of his body

⁷⁸ Carlos Coutinho and Thainã Medeiros, from Coletivo Papo Reto, talk about the aftermath of Eduardo's death: <https://witness.org/one-year-later-brazilian-partners-reflect-on-the-importance-of-video-cameras-when-a-young-boy-was-killed/> (Last accessed on 01/18/2019)

⁷⁹ In Brazil it is common for people to go out to buy bread every morning, to be consumed fresh at breakfast. Matheus was killed before he even left his house, his body was down with one foot in the street and the other in his front yard.

⁸⁰ <http://www.imagensdopovo.org.br/en/> (1st accessed on 02/01/2019)

visible dangling out of the cloth that covered his corpse, holding a blood-soaked coin: the money the boy was going to use to buy bread when he was violently murdered by the police even before he could put both feet out of the house. In an interview to Gama (2017), Naldinho explained that he decided to photograph and publish such a photo, which was not the kind of work he used to do, because he was certain that the media would portray the death of Matheus as a confrontation and Matheus as someone involved in the drug trade:

“Because I knew this was going to appear in the media as the death of a drug dealer. And that was what they said. 'You have to analyse', Wagner Montes said ... 'You have to analyse ...'. And then he backed off: 'No, it really was a child'. [...] The images had great repercussion. I even had a reporter from Washington Post asking me to tell what had happened. People came from the New York Times...”(Gama, 2017, p54).

Cláudia da Silva Ferreira, 38, also went out to buy bread when she was shot by the Police in Morro da Congonha, north zone of Rio, in 2014⁸¹. According to witnesses and Claudia's husband, the PMs even had put four guns next to her body to incriminate her⁸². However, there was no photographic or video record, and the police fired in the air to disperse the residents who wanted to prevent them from taking Claudia to the hospital - in the trunk of the police car. The reports of March 16, the date of the incident, only say that Claudia was shot during a police operation and taken by PMs to the hospital, but died, without many details despite the many residents that witnessed the death. EXTRA published the following headline: “RESIDENTS OF THE CONGONHA COMMUNITY PROTEST AFTER THE DEATH OF A WOMAN

⁸¹ For a news report on Claudia's death: <https://extra.globo.com/casos-de-policia/moradores-da-comunidade-de-congonha-fazem-protesto-apos-morte-de-mulher-durante-operacao-policial-11892904.html> (Last accessed on 04/01/2019)

⁸² For a news report on the case after the footage was released with witness account of the events: <https://oglobo.globo.com/rio/marido-suspeita-que-mulher-arrastada-por-carro-da-pm-tenha-sido-executada-11897656> (Last accessed on 04/01/2019)

DURING A POLICE OPERATION”⁸³, while G1 published the following: “WOMAN DIES AFTER BEING HIT IN EXCHANGE OF FIRE IN THE NORTH ZONE OF RIO”⁸⁴.

Claudia's case would be just another case of a fake “resistance followed by death” report (“homicide resulting from opposition to police intervention”) if her body had not been placed in the trunk of the police car. On the way to the hospital, the trunk opened, the body rolled out and, caught in its own clothing, was dragged for about 250 meters through the streets of the city. A person coming in a car behind the police patrol filmed the body being dragged —together with the people trying unsuccessfully to alert the officers — and the case exploded in the media, receiving extensive coverage from the 17th of March.

Once again, as in the cases already discussed at Palmeirinha and Providência, the video showing explicitly and unequivocally the Police brutality had an excellent chance to gain media attention and convince public opinion to exert pressure against the perpetrators. It is known that the police have, for decades, been acting with impunity; in the case of the Favela Naval (discussed in Chapter 3), for example, the same group of police officers had been terrorizing the residents for several weeks until someone was able to film — which was difficult in 1997, since it was rare for favela residents to have access to video equipment. And again it is important to consider the efforts involved to get in touch with a journalistic team which would publish it, as at that time it was not easy to find a safe way to contact journalists (bear in mind that the material was very sensitive and would pose a real risk to whom filmed). Contemporary media found ways to be more accessible to ordinary people, even opening lines exclusively to receive material using the Application WhatsApp.

⁸³ Extra news report on 16/03/2014: <https://extra.globo.com/casos-de-policia/moradores-da-comunidade-de-congonha-fazem-protesto-apos-morte-de-mulher-durante-operacao-policia-11892904.html>

⁸⁴ G1 news report on 16/03/2014: <http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2014/03/mulher-morre-apos-ser-atingida-em-troca-de-tiros-na-zona-norte-do-rio.html> (Last accessed on 04/01/2019)

I opened this section by reflecting on how the study of the cited cases led me to the conclusion that the determined use of video is needed to attract media attention. Souza and Maia (2016) explain that this type of video complaint, called advocacy video, “corresponds to a process of video integration in a legal effort to achieve greater visibility or impact in a campaign” (Caldwell, 2005 apud Souza and Maia, 2016, p81), and has specific characteristics and guidelines that must be followed so that it has more credibility and can be used not only to gain media attention, but also to serve as evidence in court cases. Souza and Maia (2016) cite filming in sequence, keeping data from the original archive and filming the face and identification of the aggressor (*Ibid*, p81) as essential for the material to be considered valid as evidence in a judicial process. I realise that often the need to remain hidden at a distance (see the Morro da Providência case in Chapter 3) to ensure their security, prevents residents from complying with all these guidelines, yet with the support of the media giving legitimacy to the claims of the population of the favela, popular demand is often enough to put pressure on the authorities to identify and punish those responsible. All things considered, raw footage or even photos are important in the efforts of residents who practice media activism, so that they are able to challenge the official version, secure attention from the media, and subsequently break down the invisible but genuine barriers around the favela and reach the general population, which is the subject of the next section.

11.4 Activism for whom? Is favela media activism effective in reaching the general population outside the favelas?

Now that both the role of journalism in emphasizing the criminalised' representation of the favelas and the impacts generated by the access to the internet and social media have been discussed, I turn my attention to examining the power of groups of activists to influence, through their online mobilisation, the mainstream media agenda from bottom to top. Through the discussion of elements of the cases presented, coupled with a reflection substantiated by historical context, this thesis provides compelling evidence that residents and activists can attract attention to situations from the mainstream media, where there is irrefutable evidence, such as photos or video, especially when it involves police violence. However, the ability of these groups to influence the media coverage of

the favelas through their mobilisation and discussions online is yet to be analysed.

When discussing the criminalised representation of the favela resident, we are talking primarily about stereotyping, which, according to Hall (1997) is a *representational practice*. Through this practice, the media has been collaborating with the process of legitimising violence against the favela (Ramos and Paiva 2007, Maia 2017) in a clear demonstration that stereotyping is a form of power: “a hegemonic and discursive form of power, which operates as much through culture, the production of knowledge, imagery and representation, as through other means” (Hall, 1997, 263).

Take as an example the mass removal policies. The use of resources that stereotype the residents of the site that will be emptied can be seen throughout history. The practice was already common in Brazil even before the existence of the favelas (note that the demolition of the pig-head tenement and dislodgement of its residents is pointed as one of the factors in the emergence of the first favelas of Rio de Janeiro, as discussed in chapter 1) and waves of evictions also hit Europe throughout the 20th century, sweeping poor populations from areas close to fancier quarters so that they could be exploited by the real-estate market (Perlman 2010, Ealham 2005, Abreu, 1997). Often these villagers were labelled as dirty, sick, malicious or criminal, thus convincing the rest of the population to support the removal of these people and reallocation far away from the wealthy zones of the city.

As discussed in chapter 4, favela residents continue to struggle against the representation assigned to them over decades of subjugation, from the depiction of the favelas themselves as being rife with sickness and filth - to the most recent image of the favela resident as a criminal or the supporter of crime syndicates. This misrepresentation has been acting as a regulator that works to maintain the status quo, in other words, the inhabitant of the favela faces the most diverse difficulties of social ascension and one of the factors that influence in these difficulties is the distorted idea society has of favelas and favela residents, an image reinforced by the media (as discussed in chapter 4). Hall (1997) also discussed the use of stereotyping as part of a mechanism that helps the maintenance of social order, explaining that “it sets up a

symbolic frontier between the normal and the deviant, the normal and the pathological, the acceptable and the unacceptable, what belongs and what does not or is Other, between insiders and outsiders, Us and Them.” (Hall, 1997, 258)

This reflection makes the importance of being able to influence the media even more evident, and frames how favela media activism aims to challenge orthodox opinion from bottom to top. This particular challenge to established hierarchical discourse is central to the discussion of favela media activism. Looking at the work of media activists in the favelas, it is even possible to observe a slight but significant shift in the attitude of these groups: from a position of resistance only, using social networks to defend themselves against unrealistic versions of crimes or to contest misrepresentation, to a challenging position, criticising the stance of rulers and the police and even stepping forward to mainstream media when debating announcements of new public policies or public safety operations, for example.

These residents, linking the 'online' favela (Facebook and Whatsapp resident groups) with the streets of the 'real' favela as well as taking up public spaces in the city, attract civil society attention and force the mainstream media to open space to them on its agenda, transforming, one step at a time, their act of resistance into an act of challenge (the mainstream media, the government, the civil society, etc). The integration of tactics of online (the constant mobilisation of residents to produce content, criticise and inform on social networks) and offline (cultural events, protests, art) resistance and utilisation of the favela itself as a site of protest combined with the occupation of public spaces to challenge the mainstream conceptions of the favela and its residents (as well as the state and police actions within the favelas). This creates, adapts and consolidates repertoires of resistance (McCurdy, Feigenbaum and Frenzel, 2016; della Porta and Diani, 2006), amounting to are unique features of dissent in the favelas that allow media activists to become increasingly capable of influencing mainstream media agendas by giving voice to the favela. McCurdy, Feigenbaum and Frenzel, (2016, p98) argue that protest camps "form spaces in which a variety of repertoires of contention are developed, tried and tested, diffused or sometimes dismissed." A very similar phenomenon is observed within the favelas, with its residents adapting and creating repertoires of dissent in order

to resist and then challenge the mainstream practices related to its territory and inhabitants. On that matter, the next two examples will describe cases where residents were successful in influencing the media agenda to gain space (voice) and thereby pressure the authorities to act.

The first case recovered is from 2014, when a mobilisation on social networks was organised using the hashtag #SOSComplexoDoAlemão to call attention to the routine of violence in the locality, which was still mourning the death of around a dozen residents in a recent wave of violence (Junot, 2017). The text, posted on a page of the event on Facebook⁸⁵, called residents to unite to “end this war that is killing innocents every day in the Complexo do Alemão” and declared the intention to “ask for help from all society, the media and the government to propose alternatives to end this genocide.”

The mobilisation was a success, and the hashtag reached “more than 646 thousand people, besides presenting a potential reach of about 4 million Internet users” (Junot, 2017, p103). With those numbers considered, the cry for help gained the attention of the media and was discussed at Estadão online and G1⁸⁶, that highlighted the purpose of “CALLING ATTENTION TO PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC SECURITY IN THE COMMUNITY” and the recent deaths in the favela. That said, the coverage stopped soon after and there was no more media attention at that time for the mobilisations of the residents, especially online, which became more and more frequent. This example illustrates the routine of the favela media activists - they resist all kinds of abuse every day, trying to get media and society attention using a diverse repertoire: tweets, campaigning at traffic lights with posters, cultural events, amateur videos and productions, exhibitions, intense reporting and criticism of the favela events on social media and also online and offline protests. The breadth of these actions becomes more impactful due to the sense of collective identity (Poletta and Jasper, 2001): although

⁸⁵ The Facebook page of the event:
https://www.facebook.com/events/564693090307853/?active_tab=about

⁸⁶ For a news report on the hashtag mobilisation: <http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2014/08/moradores-do-alemao-rio-fazem-twitaco-pela-paz.html> (last accessed 18/01/2019)

there are hundreds of favelas in Rio de Janeiro and each with its peculiarities (geography, immigration, heritage, etc.), its residents collectively identify themselves as favela residents and have shared the same pain and goals, bringing them together to support one another in seeking media attention for their causes. This takes the study to the second case used for analysis.

The disappearance of the bricklayer Amarildo de Souza is a notable case in which the mobilisation of the residents of the favelas and media activists managed to influence the mainstream media and pressure the authorities. The police approached Amarildo in July 2013, and took him to questioning at the UPP post in Rocinha, the favela where he lived⁸⁷: he never returned. Agreeing with Maia (2017, p94), who argues that the case is very relevant as it “metonymically emphasises the power of digital social networks as alternative tools, largely independent of the big media corporations, in the struggle for human rights of the oppressed and often mortally victimised minorities”, this thesis will present in brief as a way to illustrate the reflection on the alleged power of influence and mobilisation of the residents through social networks.

The search for Amarildo generated enormous mobilisation in the Rocinha favela and later reached the media and the rest of the civil society, becoming a huge movement even reaching other countries. According to Medina (2013), the great repercussion of the case was “surprising, since a poor worker became news in a country where the disappearance of the poor usually results only in silence and impunity” (Medina, 2013, p1). Brum (2013) also celebrates the unusual repercussion: “That Amarildo has disappeared is terrible. That his disappearance has become a banner and slogan in the protests, hashtag on Twitter and news in the press, flags — perhaps — the beginning of a change”. Since his disappearance, the question 'Where is Amarildo?' appeared not only in the streets of the city, but also within the country as a whole and the world beyond it, appearing in photos, being used as a hashtag on social media, and acting as a constant reminder of the pressure the authorities were under to clarify what had happened with the bricklayer and where he was — and in a broader way adding

⁸⁷ News report on Amarildo de Souza: (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-24143780>) (Last accessed 22/01/2019)

significance to the fight for more visibility for the favela population.

With the outcry from civil society, investigations followed. Initially, the UPP commander at Rocinha, Edson Santos, stated that Amarildo has been taken to an inquest and reportedly released within five minutes. Although there was no photo or video evidence — Rocinha has 84 cameras, and suspiciously the two cameras in the region of the UPP base where Amarildo was taken were not working that day — the tremendous popular mobilisation caused Amarildo to remain as one of the main subjects in the media⁸⁸ until, in October 2013, it was then clarified what had happened to him: Amarildo was tortured for more than two hours and killed by the UPP police, who then dismembered his body, which has not yet been found. The case became an example in which the mobilisation of the inhabitants of a favela managed to influence the agendas of the national and international media for weeks, opening space for witnesses, seeking information about his life and placing Rocinha and the routine of violence of the favelas in the spotlight. Yet Amarildo's case is also a good example of resistance activism becoming an outright sociopolitical challenge - when the case is no longer about Amarildo alone, but about every poor, favela dweller who faces a routine of abuse, it stops being just resistance (an outcry for attention in the search for Amarildo) and starts to challenge the status quo. It challenges traditional media (which pays little attention to cases of death and disappearance in the favelas), the government (which is obliged to investigate a case involving the police appropriately), and society itself (accustomed to viewing the favela through the mainstream narrative).

This example, however, is still the exception. In the year 2015, it was seldom that residents, through social networks, managed to influence the mainstream media. Throughout the year, this research identified only 12 mentions of the three groups studied. The death of the boy Eduardo generated a mention in O Globo on April 5 to Coletivo Papo Reto, which organised a protest against violence in the Complexo do Alemão, and another mention of the Voz da Comunidade profile on Twitter as a source

⁸⁸ Amarildo's case gain attention in the international media:
<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/where-s-amarildo-how-the-disappearance-of-a-construction-worker-taken-from-his-home-by-police-has-8745464.html> (last accessed 22/01/2019)

of information about what happened in the favelas in the column of Flávia Oliveira, also in O Globo. The same columnist mentioned Voz da Comunidade two more times, on 12th of April, and on the 16th of August.

The protests organised by the residents were the main element that was responsible for mentions. In addition to those already cited, there have been references to Coletivo Papo Reto in EXTRA and in O Globo on August 23rd and to Maré Vive in EXTRA on February 23rd regarding protests, now figuring as the most effective means of influencing the media to discuss the problems of the favela.

Coletivo Papo Reto		
Date	Newspaper	What is the mention about
05/04/15	O Globo, p15	Protest against violence after Eduardo's death
23/08/15	O Globo, p22	Protest against violence in the favela
23/08/15	Extra, p16	Protest against violence in the favela
Voz da Comunidade		
Date	Newspaper	What is the mention about
05/04/15	O Globo, p37	Profile on Twitter as a source of info after Eduardo's death
12/04/15	O Globo, p32	Residents asking for peace
09/05/15	EXTRA, p4	Meeting with the Mayor
16/08/15	O Globo, p42	10 years of the project
27/08/15	EXTRA, p9	A picture shared by Voz on Twitter gained attention
18/11/15	O Globo, p2	The return of violence after pacification
28/12/15	O Globo, p10	Confrontation between police and drug dealers
Maré Vive		
Date	Newspaper	What is the mention about
23/02/15	EXTRA, p9	Protest against violence in the favela
24/09/15	O Globo, p14	11yo boy killed, residents reacted on social media

Table 24: Mentions to the groups examined on the newspapers, 2015

The mentions, however, do not always indicate that social resistance movements on the internet are influencing the mainstream media. From the remarks cited above, for example, those that addressed protests were the most effective because the groups were able, through online and offline mobilisation, to call attention to the residents' demands. The mention of the Voice of the Community in EXTRA on August 27th, although it was not about a protest, was the most significant among those found in the year 2015. The group, through Twitter, shared a picture of a resident showing her two children lying down on the floor of the house to protect themselves from the bullets that had just sprayed the favela. The post was then spontaneously replicated by EXTRA in print and online⁸⁹, causing the routine of shootings and the fear and suffering of the residents to become an article:

Quinta-feira, 27 de agosto de 2015 extra.globo.com 2ª Edição **POLÍCIA 9**

COMPLEXO DO ALEMÃO

O medo se aprende desde cedo

Mãe coloca os dois filhos deitados no chão durante troca de tiros na Nova Brasília

Igor Ricardo
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Um tiroteio, na manhã de ontem, assustou moradores do Complexo do Alemão, na Zona Norte do Rio, e deixou uma mãe desesperada. A moradora da localidade conhecida como Chuveirinho, na favela Nova Brasília, estava lavando roupa no quintal quando escutou os disparos. A mulher, que pediu para não ser identificada, saiu correndo para dentro de casa e colocou seus dois filhos no chão para protegê-los de bala perdida. A foto das crianças abraçadas foi postada no Twitter do jornal "Voz da Comunidade". Ainda segundo a moradora, os tiroteios são frequentes no local e sua filha, de apenas 4 meses, sempre se assusta. A outra criança que aparece na imagem é seu filho de 5 anos.

— Foi agora de manhã esse tiroteio. Primeiro, foi umas bombas que os policiais daqui de cima ficam jogando atrás das casas das pessoas. A minha filha só tem 4 meses, toda hora ela toma susto e fica desesperada. Eu estava lavando roupa na parte da frente da casa. Escutei os tiros, vim correndo, botei minha filha e meu filho no chão. Eles ficaram se protegendo e eu do outro lado. Foi isso que aconteceu. Acho que o blindado passou lá para trás. Todo dia tenho que colocar minha filha e meu filho deitados no chão. Eu realmente estou cansada disso todo dia — relatou, nervosa, a mulher.

O medo parece ter uma explicação. Ela contou que a creche do seu filho, na comunidade, já foi alvo de bala perdida.

— Eu e diretora já até fomos na delegacia para falar sobre isso. Na creche mesmo do meu filho tem marca de tiro — relatou ela.

Apesar do susto, a moradora foi levar seu filho à creche, que colocou a criança deitada no chão.

A Coordenadoria de Polícia Pacificadora (CPP) afirmou que não houve registro de confronto envolvendo policiais militares das unidades do Alemão na manhã de ontem. A Delegacia de Combate às Drogas (DCOD) informou que fez uma operação no Complexo do Alemão onde houve troca de tiros com traficantes. 1

COLABOROU
Carolina Heringer

«A minha filha só tem 4 meses, ela fica desesperada»
X moradora do Alemão, mãe das crianças

Figure 70: “Fear is learned early on” says EXTRA’s headline

⁸⁹ EXTRA article on the kids lying on the floor: <https://extra.globo.com/casos-de-policia/mae-coloca-filhos-no-chao-de-casa-para-se-proteger-de-tiroteio-no-alemao-estou-cansada-disso-17306936.html> (last accessed 23/01/2019)

VOZ
ANO
DEZ

Voz da Comunidade @vozdacomunidade · 50 min

Mãe coloca filhos deitados no chão para tentar se proteger do intenso tiroteio que acontece agora no Alemão!!!



Figure 71: The online version included a print screen of the post on Twitter

Considering all the above, it seems reasonable to assume that there is still a long way to go for groups that practice “favela media activism” to influence the mainstream media, and although they are not able to do it effectively yet, it is undeniable that with some mobilization they can already fight for — and conquer — space and attention. I conclude, therefore, that although there is still difficulty in determining the mainstream media agenda, the mobilization described in the previous chapters alone is already a positive result of the work of these activists who, using social media, managed to create networks of social resistance (Santos and Da Silva, 2014), rejecting traditional forms of organization (Recuero, 2010) and building a horizontal resistance network, where

everyone can participate, and the leaderships are based on collective decisions (Santos and Da Silva, 2014) instead of emanating from a single centre of top-down power.

12 Conclusion

During my youth, as I began to think more deeply about the favela and especially about the problems of the widely accepted representation of it, which conflicted starkly with the image I had of my own friends living there, one question troubled me: why are so few voices heard coming from the favelas? Why does the favela population not come together to give its own version of life in there? It was obviously a naive view of the problem as I had no understanding of the complex relations between the favela and the media and the struggles to have their voices heard. The media coverage of the Occupation of Complexo do Alemão by the Military Police to install the UPP in 2010 was the last piece of a long list of events that would make me reflect deeply on the difficulty these people have in being heard and on the absence of the right to have a voice in the peripheries.

Therefore, when I started this research, these questions had already evolved, and I had decided to concentrate on the efforts of the favela dwellers to find a voice, and to find out if their attempts to be heard were successful. Added to that, the ability of these residents to influence the media agenda through their online activities was notably a significant element in understanding the impact of social media and internet in the struggles for voice in the favelas. The violence in the favelas continues, together with the disregard of the authorities. It is still difficult to find the positive side of the favelas in the news. Working on all these questions and a few others, I came to my research question, which sought not only to investigate the use of social networks in the favelas, but also to connect the movement to take the narrative of the favelas through technology with the possible empowerment of these residents, who would be gaining voice and space, and also intended to study comparatively the official narrative and the narrative of the residents, finally addressing the quest to understand the capacity—or not—of media activists to influence mainstream media.

In order to answer these questions, I started by analysing the emergence of the favelas themselves and the troubled beginning of the relationship between the favela population and the formal city population, until the birth of the term “broken city” (Ventura, 1994), a summary of the social segregation rooted in the event that gave rise to the first favela

and intensified over the years as the city underwent a process of modernization for the rich and expelled the poor people to the favelas and peripheries (Chapter 1). This segregation and abandonment made the favelas the perfect place for the establishment of criminal factions, the so-called 'parallel power', that would be among the authorities' concerns from the 1980s and would dominate the country's favelas in the next decade, becoming the most significant public security problem nowadays (Chapter 2). As expected, the police force would be widely used in the favelas to combat organised crime and drug trafficking, becoming itself the cause of violence and death in these areas (Chapter 3).

Life in the favelas, as discussed in Chapter 4, encounters several dangers. Police violence, high mortality rate — especially among young men —, the unhealthy situation of some regions, prejudices, social invisibility, and State abandonment, are just a few of these. All are intrinsically connected with the maintenance of the status quo and with the relations of power legitimised by the media. The press appears to be the main arm of publicity that legitimises police violence in the favelas. As explained in Chapter 5, through the criminalisation of favelas and their residents in the media, the populace, embraced to old and new fears and prejudices, support more Police and more violent repression for these 'epicenters of urban violence', without much dismay or concern for innocent deaths, since the “war on drugs” justifies everything.

After studying more deeply the historical background that led to the current representation of the favela, I devoted myself to analysing the recent transformations in the favelas, brought about by the mass uptake of its inhabitants of the communicative opportunities provided by the Internet era, and through the popularisation of smartphones. Thus, in Chapter 6, I was able to reflect on the new ways of doing journalism and on the role of social networks in these new settings, going from public journalism, alternative media and community journalism, to the concept of “Favela Media Activism” (Custódio, 2016), which would guide my analysis of social resistance movements through activism and news production in the favelas.

In PART II, I started to present and analyse the data collected and to explain my methodological choices. Chapter 7 is dedicated to explaining my decision for a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis, and also to explain my ethnographic approach to the online content, as well as to detail my choice of the selected favelas, activist groups, and newspapers. In chapter 8 I have been able to offer compelling evidence that the representation of the favela as a place of crime and violence in the mainstream media remains and I have come across interesting findings as the even more violent representation offered by EXTRA, despite being a newspaper more identified with the favela population. In chapter 9 a few mistakes in the work of the activist groups were discussed: an artificially positive representation offered by Voz da Comunidade is the main one, but the need for greater emphasis on favela events by Papo Reto and the low use of media such as photo and video by Maré Vive also stood out. The comparison of chapters 8 and 9 already sketched answers to the research question and gained depth with the case analysis carried out in chapter 10 (The case of Alan and Chauan) by thoroughly investigating the coverage that criminalises the favela and has the police as the only source and showing the impacts of online mobilisation in the coverage of commercial media, in addition to highlighting the importance of video to give force to the denunciations.

Part III was dedicated to further discussion of the information that came out of the data analysis. In Chapter 11 I examined the official voices portraying the favela: a chronological line of the favela image in the media was drawn, and I reflected on the criminalisation of these spaces and the tradition of popular newspapers in emphasising violence, concluding, finally, that the most serious of the problems of the official representation of the favelas is not the enormous volume of news about violence, but the way these events are reported, the way the residents are portrayed, the high dependence of the police as a source and the social invisibility of the inhabitants of the favelas deprived of their voice as witnesses and as victims. Violence does exist and needs to be reported, not ignored. However, there is a need to relearn how to make journalistic coverage of violent events in the favela, beginning with giving voice to victims and witnesses, listening to all parties involved and doing a real job of checking the information before publishing, as well as leaving aside linguistic mannerisms that

identify the resident of the favela as a criminal, especially when it comes to young men. All that considered, this thesis brings a warning to the media, that urgently need to stop legitimising violence in the favelas as it is closely related to the numerous death of innocent people as well as to the disregard of the law and police executions in broad daylight.

Also in Chapter 11, this thesis reflected on the work of groups of residents who organise themselves to practice media activism in the favelas. The first thing that caught my attention was the enormous difference between the work done by Voz da Comunidade and the other two groups, Coletivo Papo Reto and Maré Vive. It was evident, after analysing the data, that Voz da Comunidade emphasises positive events, especially those related to culture, to the detriment of negatives, leaving out serious human rights violations in the favelas and portraying an artificially positive favela resulting in a biased representation. The group also lacked a critical positioning, drawing closer to the concept of community journalism rather than to activism. On the other hand, Coletivo Papo Reto was the closest to offering a version of the favela, disseminated by the mainstream media, that would combat the official version of the favela as a place of crime. However, although it provides balanced coverage, this work warns against its lack of emphasis on cultural manifestations, on the favela way of life. As this research observed two groups working in Complexo do Alemão, it was clear that Papo Reto often did not even acknowledge cultural events happening in the favelas. Still in Chapter 11, Maré Vive carries out more raw work, with less support of NGOs and a strong reliance on the residents of the favela themselves. An authentic and valuable work for these residents, it still faces severe difficulties in breaking the barriers of the favela and reaching the formal city (and mainstream media), reverberating only inside the Maré itself.

This, incidentally, is one of the main points discussed in the previous chapter: I noticed that there is still immense difficulty in the demands raised by the media activists, to leave the own circle of favela residents where they operate, and to widen their horizons. Their pages in social networks are followed mostly by residents, and their activities end up being restricted to this circle, rarely being able to affect the mainstream media.

Exceptions are flagrant in photo or video of police violence — especially involving executions and deaths of residents — and the integration of online and offline activity, such as major protests.

During the research, however, it was clear that despite still having a very local reach, the actions of these groups of activists, who are nothing more than residents engaged in the use of social media as a tool to give visibility to the favela, were the pillar of the construction of a network of social resistance that each day became stronger. This resistance, supported by the use of different social networks (Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp), was made possible by the increasing purchasing power of the residents and the massive popularisation of smartphones in the favela. Some people question the value of a mobile phone in the hands of the poor; some say that it would be better to spend that money on home improvements or invest in education. However, observing the activities of the residents of these favelas during the last four years, it was evident that the cell phone has become much more than a communication device or even a leisure one; it is also a survival aiding tool, a weapon of defence against police violence and the main tool in the struggles to reinforce their citizens and human rights and in the fight to end the social invisibility of a population that has been neglected and marginalised for more than a century.

In conclusion, it is also important to note that these groups of residents may still not have the power to influence the media routinely, but observing the behaviour of the residents during these four years makes it clear that social networks have impacted the favela residents lives hugely, giving them some space and voice and changing the way they react and defend themselves from violence and abuse (especially from the police) and that the role of these activists groups is precisely to strengthen these voices so that they can be heard more.

12.1 Key findings

Based on the data presented and discussed, the next paragraphs will list five key findings of the present research.

The representation of the favela in the mainstream media remains that of a violent place, of high danger, a den of criminals, but the biggest problem is not in reporting violence itself, but in how violence is reported and the lack of space for others themes related to the favela. In analysing the current representation of the media, it seems reasonable to conclude that the narrative of crime and violence remains hegemonic, as well as in 2010 according to research carried at that time by Vaz and Baiense (2011). This representation has fluctuated over the last century, only emphasising violence since the 1990s and consolidating this representation in the early 2000s. The way to portray the predominantly white middle and upper-class criminals remains different and softer from that used to characterise the favelas, an inheritance of the years of slavery in Brazil. Summarising, the representation of the favela in 2015 was still very similar to that described by Vaz and Baiense in 2010; however, violence as a recurring theme is not the only problem pointed out by this research. Also very relevant is how the violence involving the police in the favelas is reported: the police itself is the only source of the mainstream media in most cases. This contributes to the maintenance of the misrepresentation of the favelas as a place of violence per se, once, as argued by Misse (2011), the police version of the facts, in most cases, portrays the victim as a criminal. This practice is also the backbone of the process that leads public opinion to legitimise the violent repression of favelas and their residents, for the 'greater good' (the war on drugs). This means that for the favela resident, the media reports on violence relying on the police as the only or main source will help to maintain a cycle that brings more police (and even more violent police operations) to the favelas with the support (and even claims) of the population. All things considered, the fact that violence is reported is not the primary problem here. Violence exists and accounts of it need to be published, but when this coverage comes in the form of emphasis and overvaluation of this violence, almost wholly ignoring other agendas such as culture and citizenship in the favelas (with the consequence that a biased coverage portrays the favela only as a violent place and neglects its history and culture), summed up with bad journalistic work that relies mostly on only one source (and a source that is involved in the conflict), this journalistic practices must be revisited.

Following the reflection on the media misrepresentation of the favela, the newspaper Extra, despite being aimed at the Class C public, thus having more identification with the population of the favelas, portrays the favela more negatively and with more emphasis on violence than O Globo, a newspaper 'of record' aimed at the upper-classes. Therefore, one of the original assumptions of the research proved wrong: the popular newspaper, although identifying more with the population of the favelas, continues to emphasise the violence and the negative framework that surrounds it, ignoring the fact that its people have been using social media websites to agitate for a less biased coverage of the favela. This paradigm is based on an established tradition of the popular Brazilian newspapers, which approach topics related to the violence with more emphasis, besides prioritising events that are 'closer to the reality' of the reader. Thus, EXTRA's perspective further confirms the theory that the mainstream media contribute to the criminalisation of the favela residents portraying the favela as a place dominated by crime and violence — once it could use this proximity with the reader to address a more positive agenda but yet persists on the perpetuation of the negative framing of these communities, contributing to the legitimization of violence against it.

Moving on to the online mobilisations, this research offers evidence to conclude that activist groups still cannot influence the mainstream media and do not have the capacity to make a significant impact outside the favelas: denunciations and demands are almost always restricted to groups of residents. Nonetheless, the online mobilisation of residents, when it breaks the barriers of the favelas and reaches other sectors of society, has the power to pressure the authorities as seen in the Palmeirinha and Amarildo cases. One of the most critical questions to be answered by the research was precisely the ability of residents and activists to influence the mainstream media narrative about favelas in a bottom-up process. It can be seen from the data presented and the cases studied that there is still considerable difficulty in breaking down favela barriers and influencing the media and that the 'official' approach remains predominantly one of criminalisation of the favela and its residents. In other words, the reports and online mobilization of the groups observed by this research had a significant impact inside the favelas but were not noticed outside it, unless there is substantial material to attract the mainstream media. Notably, the existence of videos (especially of police violence)

facilitates this process, but the remaining issues still are faced with barriers to conquer due attention. In the other hand, this research also offered persuasive evidence that when in fact these barriers are broken and the voices of the favela can be heard in the asphalt — after gaining space in the mainstream media since very rare are the cases in which the favela has been heard without that aid — these voices have the strength to gain the support of civil society and pressure the relevant authorities for a solution.

The analysis of the work carried by the activist groups also lead to two critical findings about them: first, Voz da Comunidade, the most famous of the activist groups, offers an artificially positive portray of the favela on their Facebook page; a situation similar to that observed in the case of the Viva Favela project (Ramalho, 2007). Second, Coletivo Papo Reto and Maré Vive have a more balanced production, yet they mistakenly do not emphasise the positive events, sometimes not even acknowledging them which leads to their narrative being close to the negative frame offered by the media but only with a critical approach (what changes the purpose of the negative approach and slightly change the perception but still do not challenge the overly negative picture presented by the mainstream media). This implies that the work of the activists, although of great importance, still needs to be improved with the clear objective of challenging the version of a favela where there is only violence offered by the mainstream media.

Moreover, the use of social media provides empowerment and gives voice to the inhabitants, although their impact on the mainstream media is still small. The resident's mobilization online and offline changed the way they fight for social visibility and to combat violence: now focusing on the use of social networks to organise and attract attention from the mainstream media; using these social networks to connect to each other as its popularisation changed the relations among the residents themselves; employing the social networks to protect themselves, and disseminating information about how to film and combat police violence. These changes alone make media activism in the favelas a success since they are able to collaborate with the citizenship exercise of these residents through the use of social media that has been able to aid in the struggles for space and voice.

12.2 Originality, future work and final considerations

When I proposed this research and also during my bibliographic review, I noticed that there are a variety of papers that study the representation of the favelas in mainstream media on one side and on the other side a recent range of research and reflections on the work of residents and activists using social networks as counterpublics in the favelas. There was a lack, I believe, of further studies that directly compared these representations of the favela offered by these two parts and could point to causal relations between the crystallised image of the favela in the mainstream media and the anti-hegemonic struggle for a representation of the favela by itself. This study aimed to fill this gap, bringing a comparative and original analysis of the favela portrayed in the major newspapers and the favela depicted in the social networks websites during the same period. However, during the research, I identified opportunities that, due to the limitations of the time and scope of work already defined, could not be approached in this research.

The most relevant was the emergence of WhatsApp application as a relevant communication tool within the favela and, especially in the last three years, its consolidation as a source of information. Recently, the same application played a vital role in the presidential elections and was at the centre of the debate about fake news and the post-truth era. In the favelas, the app is already at the epicentre of fake news stories that spread rapidly after violent events for some time. In the case of Eduardo de Jesus, for example, hours after his death, an edited image associating him with drug trafficking circulated in WhatsApp, especially in group chats. The photos were fake and, following the involvement of an influential favela activist in the dissemination of this content, his family members had to come public to prove that the boy in the pictures was not Eduardo. With that in mind, the study of the use of WhatsApp in favelas focusing on the production and dissemination of fake news — especially involving violence and crime — and its impacts on mainstream media coverage and on the repercussion in civil society pose as a research opportunity to be explored with regard to the use of social media and favela media activism.

In addition, I see with great interest the possibility of resuming this same study in 5 years and analyze if there was a crystallization of media activism in the favelas, if new tools and ways of doing journalism were introduced in these areas and if finally the objective of influencing the mainstream media bottom to top was achieved and how this occurred. I would suggest the inclusion, in this new analysis, of the use of WhatsApp and, depending on the availability of material, the tabloid newspapers.

I conclude by highlighting another original character of this work, which ended offering an analysis of the work of residents and activists in the favelas without direct involvement with them — while most studies in the same area rely on interviews — using virtual ethnographic observation to extract meanings without the influence/interference that the direct interaction with the object of study brings.

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APPENDIX 1 – MATERIAL COLLECTED FROM O GLOBO

DAY	SECTION, PAGE	TITLE	THEME/ CATEGORY	TONE
03/01/2015	RIO, 10	“PUXADINHO” NO CAMINHO DAS UPPS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
05/01/2015	SEGUNDA PAGINA, 2	A LOTAÇÃO DO VIDIGAL ESTÁ ESGOTADA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
06/01/2015	SOCIEDADE, 20	CRIANÇAS DE FAVELAS DO RIO SÃO MAIS GORDAS QUE AS DE SP	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
08/01/2015	RIO, 10	AVANÇO SEM LIMITES	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
08/01/2015	RIO, 13	PROTOCOLO GARANTE FORÇAS ARMADAS NA MARÉ ATÉ JUNHO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
09/01/2015	RIO, 10	MP TEM 100 AÇÕES CONTRA EXPANSÃO DE FAVELAS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
09/01/2015	RIO SHOW, 38	MOCIDADE INDEPENDENTE DA PERIFERIA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
10/01/2015	RIO, 16	OS ARTISTAS DO VIDIGAL	CULTURE	POSITIVE
10/01/2015	RIO, 18	POLICIA INVADE PEDREIRA, MAS PLAYBOY CONSEGUE ESCAPAR	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/01/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 2	CONTRA O CINISMO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
12/01/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 6	FAVELA NO PROJAC	CULTURE	POSITIVE
15/01/2015	OPINIÃO, 16	RISCOS DE A DESORDEM URBANA ANULAR OS AVANÇOS DA UPP	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
19/01/2015	RIO, 8	O GAUDI DA FAVELA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
20/01/2015	OPINIÃO, 19	UM PACTO PELO RIO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
20/01/2015	RIO, 20	COM GALERIA URBANA, CERRO-CORÁ QUER ENTRAR EM ROTEIRO DE TURISMO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
22/01/2015	OPINIÃO, 18	AÇÕES SOCIAIS PARA MUDAR O RUMO DO PROGRAMA DE UPPS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
25/01/2015	RIO, 34	EM OITO DIAS, OITAVA PESSOA É VITIMA DE BALA PERDIDA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
25/01/2015	RIO, 34	FOGO AMIGO TERIA MATADO COMANDANTE DE UPP	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

26/01/2015	RIO, 8	PASSISTA DA BEIJA-FLOR QUE TERIA SIDO TORTURADO EM FAVELA É ENCONTRADO MORTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
27/01/2015	RIO, 8	BANDIDOS SÃO RECRUTADOS EM CONFRONTO DE FACÇÕES	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/01/2015	PAIS, 7	ESTUDO REVELA QUE 42 MIL JOVENS CORREM RISCO DE SER ASSASSINADOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
31/01/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 3	A VIDA NA FAVELA POR BEZERRA DA SILVA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
04/02/2015	RIO, 12	UMA FORÇA LETAL	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/02/2015	RIO, 14	POLÍCIA PRENDE CONTRABANDISTAS DE ARMAS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/02/2015	RIO, 22	POLÍCIA INVESTIGA VENDA DE ÁGUA POR MILÍCIAS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
10/02/2015	RIO, 8	BELTRAME: AÇÃO NA VILA CRUZEIRO FOI DESASTROSA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/02/2015	RIO, 14	DOIS HOMENS SÃO FERIDOS POR BALAS PERDIDAS NA ZONA NORTE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/02/2015	RIO, 14	ESCOLINHA DE TÊNIS NA ROCINHA	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
14/02/2015	OPINIÃO, 17	TODOS DO MESMO LADO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
15/02/2015	OPINIÃO, 23	O FIM DAS UPPS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
26/02/2015	RIO, 14	ÔNIBUS É QUEIMADO NA AV. 24 DE MAIO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/02/2015	RIO, 14	JOVEM GRAVOU COM CELULAR MOMENTO EM QUE FOI BALEADO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
02/03/2015	RIO, 10	JORNAL COMUNITÁRIO DE SOTAQUE ARRETADO É SUCESSO NA ROCINHA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
02/03/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 1	IMAGEM RENOVADA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
03/03/2015	RIO, 9	MORTE NA PALMEIRINHA: PM ADMITE TER ATIRADO CONTRA GRUPO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/03/2015	RIO, 9	ADVOGADO É SEQUESTRADO NA BARRA E LEVADO PARA O CHAPADÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/03/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 2	ANTES QUE MORRAM	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/03/2015	RIO, 13	POLÍCIA VAI PEDIR PRISÃO DE PM PELA MORTE DE DANÇARINO DG	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

08/03/2015	RIO, 21	NO VIDIGAL, BADMINTON ESTIMULA O "FAIR PLAY"	CULTURE	POSITIVE
09/03/2015	RIO, 10	NA MIRA DA POLICIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/03/2015	RIO, 13	OLHAR MARAVILHOSO DAS CRIANÇAS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
10/03/2015	RIO, 9	A NOVA UPP VAI AS AULAS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
11/03/2015	RIO, 12	POLÍCIA NÃO CRÊ EM LIGAÇÃO ENTRE MORTE DE PM E DESAPARECIMENTO DE AMARILDO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/03/2015	OPINIÃO, 18	PM NÃO PODE CONTINUAR ISOLADA NA PACIFICAÇÃO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
13/03/2015	RIO, 19	MP DEVOLVE À POLICIA INQUÉRITO SOBRE DG E PEDE EXPLICAÇÕES	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/03/2015	RIO, 16	ESTADO QUER PARCERIA COM EMPRESAS EM AREAS DE UPP	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
19/03/2015	RIO, 16	POLICIA APREENDE PISTOLAS COM KIT RAJADA NO COMPLEXO DA PENHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
23/03/2015	RIO, 10	COMANDANTE GERAL DA PM RECONHECE FALHAS EM UPP	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
24/03/2015	RIO, 12	DUAS MULHERES E UMA CRIANÇA SÃO MORTAS EM VARGEM PEQUENA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
25/03/2015	RIO, 7	TRAGEDIAS NÃO INIBEM OCUPAÇÃO IRREGULAR EM PETROPOLIS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
28/03/2015	OPINIÃO, 15	MINHA CASA, MINHA CIDADE	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
30/03/2015	CAPA	MARÉ VAI TER TORRES BLINDADAS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
30/03/2015	RIO, 8	MARÉ VAI TER TORRES BLINDADAS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
31/03/2015	CAPA	ARCO METROPOLITANO ATRAI FAVELAS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
31/03/2015	RIO, 12	BELTRAME PREVÊ DIFICULDADES PARA UPPS NA MARÉ	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
01/04/2015	RIO, 16	PM CHEGA HOJE À MARÉ PARA INSTALAR 4 UPPS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
02/04/2015	RIO, 10	SE UPP NÃO DER CERTO VAMOS TODOS PARA O BURACO, DIZ CORONEL	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
02/04/2015	RIO, 10	BALA PERDIDA MATA MULHER DENTRO DE CASA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/04/2015	RIO, 10	ALEMÃO SOB CLIMA TENSO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

04/04/2015	RIO, 13	MEU NOME É ZÉ PEQUENO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
05/04/2015	SOCIEDADE, 37	À PROCURA DA ESPERANÇA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/04/2015	RIO, 15	MORADORES PEDEM PAZ NO COMPLEXO DO ALEMÃO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/04/2015	RIO, 17	DOS GUETOS CARIOCAS PARA O MUNDO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
06/04/2015	RIO, 5	INOCENTES NO ALVO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/04/2015	RIO, 6	FAMILIA DE EDUARDO CHEGA AO PIAUI PARA ENTERRO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/04/2015	RIO, 6	MP CONFIRMA: POLICIAIS TRABALHAM EM MÁS CONDIÇÕES	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/04/2015	RIO, 8	SEM BALA, SEM PROVA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/04/2015	RIO, 9	ADOR DE VOLTAR À ESCOLA SEM O AMIGO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/04/2015	RIO, 10	EMOÇÃO E REVOLTA NO ENTERRO DE EDUARDO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/04/2015	RIO, 10	PMS DA MARÉ MOSTRAM FUZIL E DIZEM: NENÉM VAI CANTAR	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/04/2015	OPINIÃO, 14	PRIORIDADE TEM DE SER REOCUPAR O ALEMÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/04/2015	RIO, 10	PM FAZ MEA CULPA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/04/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 2	COMPLEXO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/04/2015	RIO, 9	MORTE NO ALEMAO: PM DEVE DEPOR HOJE	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/04/2015	OPINIÃO, 14	A MANEIRA DE PEZÃO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
11/04/2015	RIO, 20	MORTE NO ALEMÃO: ADVOGADO PROMETE LEVAR PM PARA DEPOR	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/04/2015	SOCIEDADE, 12	QUANDO O ALEMÃO FALOU	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/04/2015	RIO, 8	O CAMPUS DA MARÉ	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
14/04/2015	RIO, 11	MORTE DE MENINO NO COMPLEXO DO ALEMÃO: PEZAO DIZ QUE PM ERROU	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
15/04/2015	RIO, 10	BALA PERDIDA MATA COMERCIANTE NO COMPLEXO DA MARÉ	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
15/04/2015	RIO, 10	MORTE NO ALEMÃO: PMS QUE ATIRARAM DURANTE OPERAÇÃO PRESTAM DEPOIMENTO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

16/04/2015	RIO, 13	POLICIA VAI RECONSTRUIR MORTES NO ALEMÃO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/04/2015	RIO, 13	MAE DE EDUARDO VAI PROCESSAR JOSE JUNIOR	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/04/2015	OPINIÃO, 17	UPPS, HORA DA VERDADE	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
18/04/2015	RIO, 14	BADALADA CASA DE JAZZ EM FAVELA, THE MAZE PODE IR ABAIXO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
18/04/2015	RIO, 18	MORTES NO ALEMÃO: SUSPEITAS CONTRA PM AUMENTAM	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/04/2015	RIO, 26	CINE ROCINHA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
19/04/2015	RIO, 28	DEFENSORA INCANSÁVEL DAS CRIANÇAS DE ACARI	CULTURE	POSITIVE
19/04/2015	RIO, 28	MAE DE EDUARDO: REENCONTREI O PM QUE MATOU MEU FILHO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
21/04/2015	PAIS, 3	ESTRADA DE 181 MILHÕES VIROU RODOVIA DO TRAFICO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
21/04/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 4	DO VALONGO À FAVELA, IMAGINÁRIO E PERIFERIA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
22/04/2015	CAPA	FAVELA ATRAI COM TURISMO DA VIDA REAL	CULTURE	POSITIVE
22/04/2015	RIO, 7	BABILONIA DE PORTAS ABERTAS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
23/04/2015	RIO, 10	AUSTRALIA CRITICA SEGURANÇA DA CIDADE E CITA A COPA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
23/04/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 4	CADÊ AMARILDO?	CULTURE	NEGATIVE
24/04/2015	OPINIAO, 15	DROGAS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
24/04/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 5	SAPATILHAS E PAPO DE FUNK NA MARÉ	CULTURE	POSITIVE
26/04/2015	OPINIÃO, 13	NÃO DESISTA DE NÓS, BOB	CULTURE	POSITIVE
27/04/2015	RIO, 6	AFASTAMENTO SUMÁRIO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
29/04/2015	RIO, 16	CHAPADÃO E PEDREIRA VAO GANHAR UPPS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
30/04/2015	RIO, 14	TRES VEZES FAVELA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
01/05/2015	CAPA	FAVELA SEM LIMITES	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
01/05/2015	RIO, 7	FAVELAS AVANÇAM SOBRE O VERDE	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
01/05/2015	RIO, 10	TUMULTO EM IPANEMA: DOIS FERIDOS E 4 DETIDOS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

02/05/2015	RIO, 12	MARÉ, PMS TB VÃO VIGIAR VIAS EXPRESSAS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
03/05/2015	RIO, 16	ESTUPRO NA FAVELA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/05/2015	RIO, 17	POESIA CONTRA O PRECONCEITO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
03/05/2015	OPINIÃO, 21	A MOSCA NO ALVO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
04/05/2015	RIO, 11	CASAS AVANÇAM EM DIREÇÃO A MATA EM DUAS FAVELAS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
05/05/2015	CAPA	PROGRAMA PARA CONTER FAVELAS ESTÁ ABANDONADO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
05/05/2015	SEGUNDA PAGINA	SEM LIMITES PARA CONSTRUIR	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
05/05/2015	RIO, 8 E 9	EXPANSAO SEM LIMITES	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
05/05/2015	RIO 12	PM MORRE DURANTE OPERAÇÃO NO CHAPADÃO, EM COSTA BARROS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/05/2015	RIO, 11	PROJETO DO ESTADO DE ERGUER MUROS EM 12 FAVELAS EMPACOU	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
07/05/2015	CAPA	FAVELA DERRUBADA RENASCE EM 1 DIA	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
07/05/2015	RIO, 12	RECONSTRUÇÃO RELÂMPAGO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
07/05/2015	RIO, 17	DA JANELA, O ESPETÁCULO DO CRESCIMENTO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
07/05/2015	RIO, 20	ACORDES DA HARPA CHEGAM AOS JOVENS DO CHAPÉU MANGUEIRA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
08/05/2015				
09/05/2015				
10/05/2015	RIO, 18	TIROTEIO DEIXA 4 MORTOS EM SANTA TERESA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/05/2015	OPINIÃO, 20	FAVELIZAÇÃO EXIGE PULSO FIRME DO PODER PUBLICO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
10/05/2015	RIO, 12	O PREÇO DA VIOLÊNCIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/05/2015	RIO, 13	A ARTISTA QUE PINTA SENTIMENTOS COMPLEXOS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
11/05/2015	RIO, 6	EXPANSAO FORA DO MAPA: HÁ DOIS ANOS PREFEITURA NÃO FAZ FOTOS AÉREAS PARA MONITORAR O CRESCIMENTO DE FAVELAS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE

11/05/2015	RIO, 7	BALA PERDIDA MATA JOVEM EM SANTA TERESA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/05/2015	RIO, 8	PMS SÃO ACUSADOS DE ESPANCAR E MATAR JOVEM	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/05/2015	RIO, 9	MORTES EM CONFRONTOS CAEM 85% EM ÁREAS COM UPPS	VIOLENCE	POSITIVE
12/05/2015	RIO, 10	SANTA TERESA: TRAFICANTES SÃO FORAGIDOS DA JUSTIÇA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/05/2015	RIO, 12	ALPINISTA ERRA RETORNO E É MORTO COM TIRO DE FUZIL	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/05/2015	RIO, 17	BOA NOTICIA/OPINIAO	VIOLENCE	POSITIVE
13/05/2015	RIO, 18	CONFRONTO NO SÃO CARLOS DEIXA 1 PM FERIDO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/05/2015	OPINIÃO, 21	DESAFIO ÀS UPPS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/05/2015	CAPA	UM FAVELA NO QUINTAL DOS JOGOS	OLYMPICS	NEGATIVE
14/05/2015	RIO, 8	A FAVELA RESISTE	OLYMPICS	NEGATIVE
14/05/2015	RIO, 10	CLIMA DE INSEGURANÇA TOMA RUAS DE SANTA TERESA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/05/2015	RIO, 11	PAI DAS CRIANÇAS DO FALLET QUE PERDEU SEU FILHO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
15/05/2015	RIO, 10	MENOS VIOLENCIA NO MAPA	VIOLENCE	POSITIVE
15/05/2015	RIO, 11	“É UM PÉSSIMO EXEMPLO” DIZ PAES SOBRE CONCESSÃO DE USO EM FAVELA	OLYMPICS	NEGATIVE
16/05/2015	RIO, 10	O MEDO SE ESPALHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/05/2015	RIO, 11	POLICIA APRRENDE MACONHA QUE SERIA LEVADA PARA FAVELAS EM GUERRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/05/2015	RIO, 12	SUSPEITO DE ASSASSINAR ALPINISTA É PRESO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/05/2015	RIO, 12	MENINA FERIDA POR BALA PERDIDA DURANTE TIROTEIO EM ACARI	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/05/2015	RIO, 12	NO RITMO DA ESPECULAÇÃO IMOBILIARIA	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
17/05/2015	RIO, 22	MOTOTAXISTAS FAZEM PROTESTO CONTRA MORTES NO MORRO SAO CARLOS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
18/05/2015	CAPA	4 FAVELAS TEM CONFRONTO E COMERCIANTE É MORTO NA MANGUEIRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
18/05/2015	RIO, 7	BALA PERDIDA MATA COMERCIANTE NA MANGUEIRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
18/05/2015	RIO, 9	PREFEITURA CRIARÁ NOVO CANAL PARA DENUNCIAS DE EXPANSÃO DE FAVELAS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE

18/05/2015	OPINIÃO, 12	O CONTENCIOSO SOCIAL DAS FAVELAS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
20/05/2015	RIO, 11	CONSTRUÇÃO IRREGULAR É DERRUBADA NA ROCINHA	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
22/05/2015	RIO, 8	UMA HISTORIA CRUEL	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
22/05/2015	RIO, 16	MAES DE JOVENS MORTOS NO MORRO DO DENDÊ CRITICAM AÇÃO DA POLICIA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/05/2015	RIO, 16	FOTOGRAFO É BALEADO EM FAVELA EM NITEROI	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/05/2015	ECONOMIA, 23	ARES DE ALPES FRANCESES NO COMPLEXO DO ALEMAO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
23/05/2015	OPINIÃO, 15	HÁ SANGUE A CADA NOTICIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
24/05/2015	OPINIÃO, 14	FAVELIZAÇÃO INVIABILIZA PLANEJAMENTO URBANO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
27/05/2015	OPINIÃO, 19	O MENINO DE MANGUINHOS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
29/05/2015	CAPA	DONA MARTA TEM PRIMEIRO TIROTEIO EM 6 ANOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/05/2015	RIO, 9	CAMERAS APAGADAS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/05/2015	RIO, 10	DONA MARTA REGISTRA PRIMEIRO CONFRONTO APÓS UPP	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/05/2015	RIO, 10	PROTESTO CONTRA REMOÇÃO DE FAVELA TERMINA EM CONFLITO COM PM	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
30/05/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 3	NA BATALHA PASSINHO ADIANTE	CULTURE	POSITIVE
30/05/2015	RIO, 12	DECISÃO JUDICIAL PROIBE NOVAS DEMOLIÇÕES NA FAVELA DO METRO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
30/05/2015	RIO, 14	DONA MARTA GANHA REFORÇO APOS ATAQUES	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
31/05/2015	OPINIÃO, 16	DEBATE SOBRE CRIMINALIDADE JUVENIL ESTÁ FORA DE FOCO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
31/05/2015	RIO, 32	DE OLHO NO JEITINHO BRASILEIRO DE GOVERNAR	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
01/06/2015	RIO, 10	BELTRAME VISITA DONA MARTA APÓS TIROTEIO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
02/06/2015	RIO, 8	AS FAVELAS QUE CRESCEM DENTRO DAS FAVELAS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE

02/06/2015	RIO, 12	AMARILDO: AUDITORIA REVOGA PRISAO DE 4 PMS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/06/2015	RIO, 14	PREFEITURA INAUGURA REFORMA DE 7 UPPS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
04/06/2015	RIO, 10	A GANGUE DO CORETO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/06/2015	RIO, 13	REINTEGRAÇÃO DE POSSE NA VILA AUTODROMO TERMINA EM CONFRONTO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
06/06/2015	RIO, 8	UPP PRA Q?	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/06/2015	OPINIÃO, 15	FAVELA: A BOLA DA VEZ	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
07/06/2015	CAPA	GATOS CAUSAM PREJUIZO DE QSE 1BI	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
07/06/2015	O PAIS, 6	OS ERROS NA FARSA DO CASO AMARILDO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/06/2015	RIO, 10	EMARANHADO DE PERDAS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
07/06/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 2	NÃO É SÓ SAMBA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
08/06/2015	RIO, 11	UMA NOITE EM GRANDE ESTILO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
09/06/2015	OPINIÃO, 14	O ELEVADO CUSTO DA INFORMALIDADE NO RIO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
17/06/2015	OPINIÃO, 19	AS DUAS PONTAS DA VIOLENCIA	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
18/06/2015	RIO, 10	ADOLESCENTE É BALEADO DENTRO DE CASA DURANTE TIROTEIO NA ROCINHA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/06/2015	RIO, 10	DA FAVELA PARA O MUNDO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
23/06/2015	RIO, 12	ABANDONADO, TELEFERICO DO ALEMÃO NÃO COBRA MAIS INGRESSOS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
23/06/2015	OPINIÃO, 15	O QUE É BOM DURA POUCO?	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
24/06/2015	CAPA	MENOS RIGOR PARA BAILES FUNK	CULTURE	POSITIVE
24/06/2015	RIO, 8	AUMENTA O CERCO À RECEPÇÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
24/06/2015	RIO, 15	PREFEITURA ESTUDA NOVAS REGRAS PARA BAILES FUNKS EM FAVELAS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
25/06/2015	CAPA	PREFEITURA DERRUBA 21 EXIGÊNCIAS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
25/06/2015	RIO, 10	PREFEITURA AFROUXA REGRAS PARA REALIZAÇÃO DE BAILES EM FAVELAS	CULTURE	POSITIVE

25/06/2015	RIO, 10	PEZAO DIZ QUE ESTADO VAI COLABORAR COM MP	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
25/06/2015	RIO, 16	ASSASSINATO ASSUSTA CHAPEU MANGUEIRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
25/06/2015	RIO, 16	TIROTEIOS FEREM 4 NO MORRO DA MINEIRA E DOS MACACOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
28/06/2015	CAPA	ENTRE A ESCOLA E A VIOLENCIA	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
28/06/2015	SOCIEDADE, 39	AFETO CONTRA ROTINA DE VIOLENCIA NA MARÉ	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
28/06/2015	SOCIEDADE, 40	NO MEIO DA FAVELA DO AÇO O MELHOR COLEGIO PUBLICO DO RIO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	POSITIVE
28/06/2015	SOCIEDADE, 41	COMEÇAR DE NOVO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
28/06/2015	RIO, 26	VIUVA DO AMARILDO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/06/2015	SOCIEDADE, 19	VOU ALI FALAR COM O CHEFE DA BOCA, DIZ PAI DE ALUNO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
30/06/2015	CAPA	JOVEM MORTO TINHA 2 EMPREGOS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/06/2015	CAPA	UPP REDUZIU AULAS PERDIDAS E EVASÃO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	POSITIVE
30/06/2015	RIO, 10	JE SUIS AMARILDO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/06/2015	RIO, 11	CRIANÇA DE 3 ANOS É ATINGIDA POR BALA PERDIDA NO ALEMÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/06/2015	RIO, 11	CERCO POLICIAL MARCARÁ SAÍDA DE TROPAS FEDERAIS DA MARÉ	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
30/06/2015	SOCIEDADE, 24	UPP REDUZ EVASÃO NAS ESCOLAS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	POSITIVE
01/07/2015	RIO, 10	MENOS FORÇA NA MARÉ	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/07/2015	RIO, 11	BELTRAME: SEM ESTRUTURA E EFETIVO SÓ HAVERÁ CERCO E OPERAÇÕES PONTUAIS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/07/2015	RIO, 14	FAMÍLIA DE ENTREGADOR VAI PROCESSAR ESTADO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/07/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 4	O RIO DE PIERRE VERGIER	CULTURE	POSITIVE
02/07/2015	RIO, 11	MILITARES ENTREGAM AO ESTADO DOCIÊ SOBRE O TRÁFICO NA MARÉ	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
02/07/2015	RIO, 11	SE ERRARAM, SERÃO PUNIDOS DIZ PEZÃO SOBRE PMS DA COROA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

03/07/2015	RIO, 10	CENTROS URBANOS, ARTE NA PERIFERIA E PREÇO DO LIVRO EM DEBATE	CULTURE	POSITIVE
03/07/2015	RIO, 14	TIROTEIO DEIXA DOIS FERIDOS E ASSUSTA O ALEMÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/07/2015	OPINIÃO, 13	MORADIAS POPULARES	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	POSITIVE
06/07/2015				
07/07/2015	RIO, 12	PM DE UPP MORRE EM AÇÃO NO MORRO DO ANDARAÍ	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/07/2015	RIO, 8	JOVEM É DETIDO NO LINS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/07/2015	RIO, 8	ROTINA DE MEDO: 1 FERIDO E AULAS SUSPENSAS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/07/2015	RIO, 11	CORREGEDORIA FAZ BUSCAS NA SEDE DO BOPE E PRENDE DOIS POLICIAIS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/07/2015	PAIS, 6	DITADURA PERSEGUIU ATÉ BAILES BLACK	SLUMS HISTORY	NEGATIVE
12/07/2015	RIO, 15	EM BUSCA DE UMA CIDADE MAIS PLURAL	CULTURE	POSITIVE
13/07/2015	RIO, 6	A LEI CRUEL DO PODER PARALELO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/07/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 1	PROIBIDÃO OU LIBERADÃO	CULTURE	NEGATIVE
14/07/2015				
15/07/2015	RIO, 17	LIVRO SOBRE DESENVOLVIMENTO SOCIAL EM FAVELAS É LANÇADO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
16/07/2015	RIO, 13	OPERAÇÃO DO BOPE POE SOB SUSPEITA OFICIAIS DE ALTO ESCALÃO DA PM	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/07/2015	RIO, 16	RETROSCAVIDEIRA É USADA EM ASSALTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
20/07/2015	SEGUNDA PAGINA, 2	NÃO HÁ SOLUÇÃO NO RIO SEM UMA POLÍCIA EFETIVA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
20/07/2015	SEGUNDA PAGINA, 2	MARCAS DE UM CRIME	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
21/07/2015	RIO, 7	O TEMPORÁRIO PERMANETE	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
21/07/2015	RIO, 11	LICITAÇÃO DE TELEFERICO DO ALEMÃO É ADIADA	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
21/07/2015	RIO, 12	HOMEM É LINCHADO NA FAVELA DA ROCINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/07/2015				
23/07/2015	RIO, 16	ORQUESTRA DA MARÉ RECOLHE DOAÇÕES PARA IR A FESTIVAL	CULTURE	POSITIVE

24/07/2015	RIO, 12	PM PEGA NA PONTE LADRÕES QUE LEVARIAM ONIBUS PARA MARÉ	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/07/2015	OPINIÃO, 19	CAMPO DE JOGO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
26/07/2015	BOA CHANCE, 4	FAVELA HYPE	CULTURE	POSITIVE
27/07/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, PAGINA 2	ACABOU O SONHO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
27/07/2015	RIO, 8	UPPS MUDAM CONCEITO DE POLICIAMENTO NAS COMUNIDADES	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
27/07/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 5	FAVELA GANHA O MUNDO E INAUGURA UM NOVO ESTILO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
29/07/2015	RIO, 29	POLICIAIS SÃO PRESOS SOB ACUSAÇÃO DE EXTORSÃO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/07/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 3	MARATONA CULTURAL DAS COMUNIDADES COMEÇA SABADO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
03/08/2015	RIO, 8	APÓS 25 ANOS DA CHACINA DE ACARI, RESPONSÁVEIS NÃO FORAM PUNIDOS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/08/2015	RIO, 8	ANISTIA INTERNACIONAL DIZ QUE IMPUNIDADE PERSISTE NA FAVELA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/08/2015	RIO, 8	MÃE DE DG, QUE TERIA SIDO BALEADO POR PM, AFIMAR QUE INQUÉRITO ESTÁ PARADO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/08/2015	RIO, 12	PF ACHA DEPÓSITO DO TRÁFICO FORA DA FAVELA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/08/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 2	NOTÍCIAS DO CONFRONTO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/08/2015	SOCIEDADE, 31	MAZELA RECORRENTE	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/08/2015	CAPA	PLAYBOY É PRESO PELA POLÍCIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/08/2015	RIO, 10	PLAYBOY É MORTO DURANTE OPERAÇÃO NA PEDREIRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/08/2015	RIO, 11	BANDIDOS ATIRAM NO CARRO DE FABIANA KARLA EM NITEROI	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/08/2015	RIO, 12	UPA É FECHADA APÓS MORTE DE TRAFICANTE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/08/2015	RIO, 8	USO DE GPS EXIGE CAUTELA DE MOTORISTAS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/08/2015	RIO, 11	PELA PORTA DA FRENTE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/08/2015	RIO, 12	PENAS DURAS PARA PORTE DE ARMA DE GUERRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

12/08/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 2	NO VIDIGAL TEM JR	CULTURE	POSITIVE
13/08/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 4	POR UMA ARTE ACESSÍVEL	CULTURE	POSITIVE
14/08/2015	RIO, 14	TRAFICANTE APONTADO COMO SUCESSOR DE PLAYBOY É MORTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/08/2015	RIOSHOW, 42	CIRCUITO FAVELA CRIATIVA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
15/08/2015	RIO, 16	AÇÃO DA PM DEIXA MAIS DE 3 MIL ALUNOS SEM AULA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/08/2015	SOCIEDADE, 42	RESPONDA QUEM PUDE	CULTURE	POSITIVE
16/08/2015	RIO, 16	ESCADARIA DA PROVIDÊNCIA GANHA CORES E VERSOS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
16/08/2015	MUNDO, 46	FAVELA COM PASSAPORTE	CULTURE	POSITIVE
17/08/2015	RIO, 13	“BANCA DE LIVRO” LEVA CLÁSSICOS E LANÇAMENTOS PARA ÁREAS CARENTES	CULTURE	POSITIVE
17/08/2015	OPINIAO, 17	ESFORÇO CIVILIZATORIO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/08/2015	SOCIEDADE, 24	SEGREGAÇÃO ESCOLAR	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
18/08/2015	RIO, 10	FLUPP NA BABILÔNIA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
18/08/2015	RIO, 12	TRES ONIBUS SÃO QUEIMADOS EM DEL CASTILHO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/08/2015	RIO, 16	TRAFICO PODE TER ALICIADO JOVEM DESAPARECIDO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/08/2015	RIO, 16	POLICIA INVESTIGA DE CORPOS SÃO DE CASAL DESAPARECIDO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
21/08/2015	RIO, 10	SOB FOGO CRUZADO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/08/2015	RIO, 12	CAIXAS 24HS SÃO DESATIVADOS NA ROCINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/08/2015	RIO, 19	LITERATURA NAS ALTURAS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
22/08/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 7	LIA DAS MISSÕES	CULTURE	POSITIVE
27/08/2015	RIO, 18	BELTRAME PEDE AJUDA A OUTRAS SECRETARIAS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
27/08/2015	RIO, 18	DE MADUREIRA PRA MANHATTAN	CULTURE	POSITIVE
28/08/2015	RIO, 11	AMARILDO: JULGAMENTO JÁ ESTÁ EM FASE FINAL	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
28/08/2015	RIO, 16	MORRE JOVEM ATINGIDA POR BALA PERDIDA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/08/2015	RIO, 12	O RETORNO DOS NINJAS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE

29/08/2015	RIO, 15	SEM PARTE DO PLANO INCLINADO, SUBIR SANTA MARTA VIRA SUPLÍCIO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
30/08/2015	RIO, 16	PEDREIRO MATA CRIANÇA DE 2 ANOS NA ROCINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/08/2015	SOCIEDADE, 41	FALTA EMPATIA	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
31/08/2015	RIO, 10	BELTRAME APRESENTA PROJETO PARA MUDAR ESTATUTO DO DESARMAMENTO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
31/08/2015	ECONOMIA, 22	PORTE DAS FAVELAS PODE SER INTEGRADA ÀS CIDADES	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
01/09/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 4	CAMPO DE JOGO: BOLA NO PÉ E CÂMERA NA MÃO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
01/09/2015	CAPA	FAVELA CRESCE ÀS MARGENS DO ARCO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
01/09/2015	RIO, 14	TRÁFICO USA ROUBO DE CARGAS COMO NOVA FONTE DE RECURSOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
02/09/2015	RIO, 13	EMPREENDEDORES DE FAVELAS VÃO CONCORRER A 82 MIL	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
02/09/2015	OPINIÃO, 16		VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/09/2015	RIO, 14	TRES ONIBUS SAO QUEIMADOS DURANTE PROTESTO EM NITEROI	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/09/2015	RIO, 14	MULHER EM PORSCHE É SEQUESTRADA NO ESTACIONAMENTO DO VIA PARQUE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/09/2015	OPINIÃO, 18	FAVELIZAÇÃO É DESVIO DE ROTA NO ARCO METROPOLITANO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
06/09/2015	OPINIÃO, 19	RAIO-X DAS ARMAS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/09/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 8	ALÉM DO PIER MAUÁ	CULTURE	POSITIVE
09/09/2015	RIO, 14	ADOLESCENTE MORRE DURANTE TIROTEIO EM MANGUINHOS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/09/2015	RIO, 14	MULHER MORRE EM AÇÃO DO BOPE NA MARÉ	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/09/2015	RIO, 16	REVOLTA MARCA ENTERRO DE ADOLESCENTE	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/09/2015	RIO, 16	AÇÃO NO COMPLEXO DA MARÉ TERMINA COM UM MORTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/09/2015	RIO, 16	EQUIPE DE REPORTAGEM É ATACADA A TIROS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

11/09/2015	RIO, 20	MUITO ALÉM DA POLICIA	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
13/09/2015	RIO, 16	VIAGEM AO TEMPO DA LATA D'AGUA NA CABEÇA	SLUMS HISTORY	POSITIVE
14/09/2015	RIO, 11	CUFA PELO MUNDO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
15/09/2015	RIO, 14	FAVELAS PARTIDAS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
20/09/2015	RIO, 10	ACUSADO DE CHEFIAR TRÁFICO DE DROGAS É PRESO QUANDO TOMAVA SOL	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/09/2015	RIO, 10	INSEGURANÇA À BEIRA MAR: DANAÇÃO JOVENS PERIFÉRICOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/09/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 4	EXPOSIÇÃO: O RIO QUE SE QUERIA NEGAR	SLUMS HISTORY	NEGATIVE
23/09/2015	RIO, 15	INSEGURANÇA À BEIRA MAR: A FAMÍLIA SOZINHA NÃO RESOLVE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
24/09/2015	RIO, 10	INSEGURANÇA À BEIRA MAR: NA MIRA, OS PAIS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
24/09/2015	RIO, 14	APÓS MORTE DE MENINO DE 11 ANOS NO CAJU, PMS SÃO AFASTADOS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
25/09/2015	RIO, 11	ENTERRO DE MENINO TERMINA EM CONFRONTO NO CAJU	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/09/2015	CAPA	A CADA 4 DETIDOS NO RIO, UM É MENOR DE IDADE	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
26/09/2015	RIO, 14	BONDE DA DENÚNCIA	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
26/09/2015	RIO, 12	ELE NÃO PRECISA ROUBAR, DIZ MÃE DE RAPAZ FLAGRADO ATACANDO JOVEM	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/09/2015	RIO, 12	PEZAO PROMETE AÇÕES PARA JOVENS EM RISCO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
29/09/2015	RIO, 12	PM É ENCONTRADO MORTO COM SINAIS DE TORTURA NA BAIXADA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/09/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 2	O TEATRO FAZ A CIDADE	CULTURE	POSITIVE
30/09/2015	RIO, 13	UMA EXCESSÃO NAS UPPS	POLICE VIOLENCE	POSITIVE
01/10/2015	RIO, 10	MORTES EM CONFRONTOS VOLTAM A SUBIR	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/10/2015	RIO, 12	TESTEMUNHA TERIA AMEAÇADA POR PMS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/10/2015	RIO, 13	PEZÃO PEDE DESCULPA PELA ATITUDE DE POLICIAIS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

01/10/2015	OPINIÃO, 18	BANDA PODRE COMPROMETE UPPS E POLÍCIA EM GERAL	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/10/2015	OPINIÃO, 19	A PAZ SEJA CONOSCO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/10/2015	J BAIRRO, 4	SABORES DA VIZINHANÇA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
05/10/2015	PRIMEIRA PAGINA	MULHER SEGUE APLICATIVO E É MORTA EM FAVELA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/10/2015	RIO, 8	ITINERÁRIO FATAL	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/10/2015	RIO, 9	NO ENTERRO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/10/2015	ECONOMIA, 5	A OUSADIA DE FAZER SUSHI NA ROCINHA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
07/10/2015	RIO, 16	CENARIO DE PRECARIIDADE	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
09/10/2015	RIO, 18	A ARTE IMITA A VIDA DE UM JOVEM MORADOR DA ROCINHA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
10/10/2015	RIO, 16	PMS DE UPPS RECLAMAM DE TREINAMENTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/10/2015	RIO, 16	WAZE PODE ALERTAR PARA TRAJETOS EM AREAS PERIGOSAS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/10/2015	CAPA	EM FAVELAS 5,3% LONGE DA ESCOLA	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
11/10/2015	RIO, 10	PESQUISA: 5,3% DOS JOVENS DE 7 FAVELAS NUNCA FORAM À ESCOLA	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
11/10/2015	RIO, 12	POLICIA PRENDE 8 NO MORRO DO CARAMUJO, EM NITEROI	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/10/2015	SOCIEDADE, 35	CARENTE DE QUÊ?	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	POSITIVE
12/10/2015	RIO, 10	MENINA DE 5 ANOS É BALEADA DURANTE AÇÃO DA PM EM FAVELA DE PIALRES	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/10/2015	RIO, 11	DESAPARECIMENTO DE POLICIAL É INVESTIGADO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
15/10/2015	RIO, 12	FORROBODÓ DE PAES	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
15/10/2015	RIO, 14	QUATRO ÔNIBUS SÃO QUEIMADOS EM PROTESTO NO CHAPADÃO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/10/2015	RIO, 16	INVESTIGADO SUMIÇO DE IRMÃOS NO DONA MARTA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/10/2015	OPINIÃO, 16	NA CRISE DAS UPPS, A LENIÊNCIA COM A EDUCAÇÃO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
18/10/2015	RIO, 36	JOVEM É BALEADO EM BLITZ DA PM NA ROCINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

20/10/2015	RIO, 14	BALA PERDIDE FERE MULHER DURANTE CONFRONTO NO MORRO DA FALLET	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
21/10/2015	RIO, 14	CORPO ENCONTRADO CARBONIZADO É DE PM DESAPARECIDO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
21/10/2015	RIO, 14	CASAL SUMIDO É IDENTIFICADO POR EXAME DE DNA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/10/2015	RIO, 15	SEM ÁREA DE LAZER, MORADORES DE MANGUINHOS NADAM NO ESGOTO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
25/10/2015	RIO, 12	COM REMOÇÕES, VILA AUTODROMO ENCOLHE 83% EM DOIS ANOS	OLYMPICS	NEGATIVE
25/10/2015	RIO, 16	TROCA DE TIROS LEVA PÂNICO A COPACABANA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
31/10/2015	RIO, 12	FAVELAS DO RIO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
03/11/2015	RIO, 17	NO MEIO DO CAMINHO, UMA CASA SEM VIZINHOS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
04/11/2015	RIO, 9	UM ERRO FATAL, NENHUM CULPADO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/11/2015	RIO, 18	MAIS TRÊS COMUNIDADES DA ZONA SUL VÃO ENTRAR NO GOOGLE MAPS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	POSITIVE
05/11/2015	RIO, 15	MINHA VIDA ACABOU, DIZ MÃE DE EDUARDO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/11/2015	RIO, 15	LICENÇA PARA MATAR	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/11/2015	RIO, 15	A POESIA SOBE O MORRO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
08/11/2015	RIO, 32	PM PRENDE ISAIAS DO BOREL COM 3 PISTOLAS E RADIO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/11/2015	RIO, 9	CASA COM AR DE ANTIGAMENTE AJUDARÁ A PRESERVAR O JONGO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
10/11/2015	RIO, 12	ADVOGADO SEGUE APLICATIVO E ACABA EM FAVELA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/11/2015	RIO, 16	TIROTEIO NA LINHA VERMELHA DEIXA MOTORISTAS NO FOGO CRUZADO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/11/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 2	FAVELA STORM	CULTURE	POSITIVE
13/11/2015	RIO, 10	UM ROUBO EXPLOSIVO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/11/2015	RIO, 22	DEFESA ESTUDA OCUPAR PEDREIRA E CHAPADÃO NOS JOGOS	OLYMPICS	NEGATIVE
15/11/2015	RIO, 14	VIOLENCIA DEIXA 435 FILHOS DE PMS MORTOS NOS ULTIMOS 6 ANOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

17/11/2015	RIO, 8	MAIS MORTES NAS ÁREAS COM UPP	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/11/2015	RIO, 13	MP REJEITA INQUÉRITO E DENUNCIA PM PELA MORTE DO MENINO EDUARDO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/11/2015	RIO, 13	CRIANÇAS E ADOLESCENTES SÃO FERIDOS POR BALAS PERDIDAS NO LINS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/11/2015	RIO, 14	INTERNET NO MORRO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
20/11/2015	OPINIÃO, 18	LIÇÕES NO AUMENTO DA VIOLÊNCIA NAS UPPS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/11/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 4	NEGO FAMOSÃO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
23/11/2015	RIO, 10	UPP OFERECE CURSOS, MAS FALTAM ALUNOS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
23/11/2015	RIO, 10	PM RETIRA CERCA DE 50 JOVENS DE ÔNIBUS APÓS SAÍDA DE BAILE FUNK	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/11/2015	RIO, 25	CASO EDUARDO: DENÚNCIA CONTRA PM É ACEITA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/11/2015	RIO, 12	ESCOLAS SITIADAS PELA VIOLENCIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/11/2015	PRIMEIRA PAGINA, 1	PMS SÃO PRESOS POR EXECUTAR 5	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/11/2015	RIO, 6	APRENDEMOS A LIDAR COM O MEDO SOZINHOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/12/2015	RIO	UNIDADE DE POLÍCIA LETAL	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/12/2015	CAPA	PMS DE IRAJÁ SÃO OS QUE MAIS MATAM	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/12/2015	RIO	COM DESEMPENHO A PROVA, CHANCES DESIGUAIS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/12/2015	RIO	VOU ME EMBORA PRO AFEGANISTÃO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/12/2015	RIO	TRAGÉDIA EM COSTA BARROS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/12/2015	RIO, 13	AS HISTORIAS DE UM ATIVISTA SOCIAL QUE DIVIDE OPINIÕES	CULTURE	POSITIVE
06/12/2015	OPINIÃO, 18	ESCOLAS EM AREAS DE CONFLITO PRECISAM DE ESPECIAL ATENÇÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/12/2015	RIO, 11	SECRETÁRIO: ORDEM PARA ATAQUES NO JACAREZINHO PARTIU DE BANGU 3	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/12/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 2	2015 NA CULTURA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
09/12/2015	RIO, 16	PERÍCIA DESCARTA CONFRONTO EM MORTE DE JOVENS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

12/12/2015	RIO, 11	PMS DO BOPE EXTORQUIAM DINHEIRO DO BOPE	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/12/2015	OPINIÃO, 18	ENTRE CUNHA E CHICUNGUNHA	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
12/12/2015	SEGUNDO CADERNO, 7	CRISE DA MORADIA	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
13/12/2015	RIO, 13	O DESPERTAR PARA NOVOS ACORDES	CULTURE	POSITIVE
13/12/2015	RIO, 14	ENTRE A POLICIA E O TRAFICO	CULTURE	NEGATIVE
13/12/2015	RIO, 15	BALA PERDIDA MATA MENINO DE 2 ANOS NA MANGUEIRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/12/2015	RIO, 15	QUATRO CORPOS COM MARCAS DE TIROS SÃO ACHADOS DENTRO DE CARRO NA PRAÇA SECA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/12/2015	RIO, 10	A FACEKOMBI DAS FAVELAS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
16/12/2015	OPINIÃO, 25	ALICE NO PAÍS DOS LIXÕES	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
17/12/2015	RIO, 21	CRIMES QUE CHOCARAM O RIO - O DIA DA BARBARIE	SLUMS HISTORY	NEGATIVE
17/12/2015	BARRA, 16	REGIÃO TEM 1927 CASAS EM RISCO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
25/12/2015	RIO, 8	MENINO DE 11 ANOS E JOVEM MORREM DURANTE TIROTEIRO NA CIDADE DE DEUS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/12/2015	RIO, 6	INTENSO TIROTEIRO NA ROCINHA DEIXA HOMEM MORTO E QUATRO FERIDOS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/12/2015	RIO, 6	MENINO DE 11 ANOS BALEADO EM ATAQUE NA CIDADE DE DEUS É ENTERRADO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
27/12/2015	RIO, 14	PREFEITURA ENTREGA CENTROS PARA MEDIAÇÃO DE CONFLITOS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
27/12/2015	RIO, 15	CHINATOWN NO ALEMÃO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	POSITIVE
29/12/2015	RIO, 10	A VIDA EM UM BAIRRO PARTIDO PELA VIOLÊNCIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

APPENDIX 2 – MATERIAL COLLECTED FROM EXTRA

DAY	SECTION, PAGE	TITLE	THEME/ CATEGORY	TONE
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02/01/15	GERAL, 7	COMANDO DAS UPPS VAI INVESTIGAR FOTOS DE PMS COM CERVEJA	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
02/01/15	GERAL, 7	POLÍCIA APURA OMISSÃO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
03/01/15	GERAL, 10	NOVO DISCURSO DE BELTRAME SOBRE UPP	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
03/01/15	GERAL, 9	TRÊS PESSOAS BALEADAS NO PAVÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/01/15	GERAL, 4	NO VIDIGAL, O PONTO ALTO DO VERÃO NO RIO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
05/01/15	GERAL, 9	JUSTIÇA SUSPENDE PROCESSO CONTRA CINCO POLÍCIAS DA CORE	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/01/15	GERAL, 12	“LÁ, PARA CADA PM TEM MIL BANDIDOS ARMADOS”	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/01/15	ESPORTES, 11	OITO JOGOS DÃO O PONTAPÉ INICIAL DA TAÇA DAS FAVELAS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
10/01/15	GERAL, 8	POLÍCIA AINDA NÃO RECEBEU LISTA DE MOTOS ROUBADAS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/01/15	SESSÃO EXTRA, 6	HIP HOP VAI OCUPAR O VIADUTO DE MADUREIRA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
12/01/15	GERAL, 8	LUTO DO TRÁFICO EM ÁREA DE UPP	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/01/15	ESPORTES, 10	AS MENINAS DÃO O EXEMPLO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
16/01/15	GERAL, 8	TRAFICANTE AOS 11 ANOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/01/15	GERAL, 8	COMANDANTE DA PM: IMAGENS DE VITURAS NÃO SÃO MONITORADAS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/01/15	GERAL, 8	CÂMERAS ENTREGAM BANDO NO FALLET E NO FOGUETEIRO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/01/15	GERAL, 11	PROTESTO APÓS TIROTEIO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
18/01/15	GERAL, 11	DETIDO UMA SEMANA ANTES DA MORTE NA UPP	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
18/01/15	GERAL, 16	INVASÕES ILEGAIS VIRAM FONTE DE RENDA PARA CRIMINOSOS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
18/01/15	GERAL, 15	BATALHÃO RECORDISTA DE MORTES	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/01/15	GERAL, 10	GUERRA ENTRE FACÇÕES E TIROS NO JURAMENTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
20/01/15	VIDA GANHA, 1	HORA DE COMEÇAR A SE PREPARAR PARA O VESTIBULAR	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	POSITIVE
20/01/15	GERAL, 9	MORTES NA GUERRA DO TRÁFICO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
23/01/15	GERAL, 12	TIRO QUE MATOU MENINO NO SESI TERIA SAÍDO DE FAVELA		
23/01/15	GERAL, 7	O FUTURO ESTÁ LOGO ALI	CULTURE	POSITIVE
24/01/15	ESPORTES, 8	TAÇA DAS FAVELAS TEM 16 JOGOS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
25/01/15	GERAL, 16	UMA INFÂNCIA DE PERDA, ESQUECIMENTO E MORTE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

26/01/15	GERAL, 10	BALA ATINGE JOVEM EM NITEROI	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/01/15	GERAL, 10	ATAQUE DO TRAFICO DEIXA UM MORTO DE TRÊS FERIDOS EM MESQUITA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/01/15	GERAL, 3	SONHO DA CASA PRÓPRIA VIRA DRAMA PELAS RUAS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
27/01/15	GERAL, 11	FALHA NA FISCALIZAÇÃO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
27/01/15	GERAL, 11	BANDIDOS SÃO RECRUTADOS PARA A GUERRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
27/01/15	GERAL, 11	DOIS PMS DA UPP DO ALEMÃO SÃO BALEADOS EM CONFRONTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
27/01/15	GERAL, 3	UMA CHUVA DE BALAS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
28/01/15	GERAL, 10	PROCURA-SE UMA TESTEMUNHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/01/15	GERAL, 4	ABRIGO PARA A ESPERANÇA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
29/01/15	GERAL, 12	TIROS NA UPP DO ALEMÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/01/15	GERAL, 12	ENTRE A PIPA E A PISTOLA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/01/15	GERAL, 12	AGENTE DA SEOP TEM DEDOS AMPUTADOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/01/15	GERAL, 4	CUFA INAUGURA SUA NOVA SEDE COM FESTA, DANÇA E CULTURA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
30/01/15	GERAL, 4	CRIANÇADA DA UPP SANTA MARTA FAZ A FESTA	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
30/01/15	GERAL, 11	POLICIAL DA UPP É MORTO EM TIROTEIO NA CIDADE DE DEUS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/01/15	GERAL, 10	UMA HORA NA DELEGACIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
31/01/15	GERAL, 8	OITO PRESOS EM OPERAÇÕES	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
31/01/15	GERAL, 8	REVOLTA DA FAMILIA DE PM	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
31/01/15	GERAL, 8	POLICIAL DO TURANO BALEADO EM TIROTEIO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/02/15	ESPORTES, 16	DESCOBRIDOR DE TALENTOS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
03/02/15	GERAL, 10	POLICIAL DA UPP VILA CRUZEIRO LEVA OITO TIROS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/02/15	GERAL, 10	OPERAÇÃO TERMINA COM CHEFE DO TRÁFICO MORTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/02/15	GERAL, 10	ANTIBOMBAS DETONA GRANADA ACHADA PERTO DO JURAMENTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/02/15	GANHE MAIS, 15	MARKETING E COMUNIDADES	CULTURE	POSITIVE
07/02/15	GERAL, 14	PRESO SUSPEITO DE BALEAR PM	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/02/15	ESPORTES, 11	UM CAPÍTULO DE SUPERACÃO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
10/02/15	GERAL, 10	PARA BELTRAME, AÇÃO DESASTROSA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/02/15	GERAL, 10	FAVELAS COM UPPS VIRAM CENARIO DE GAMES	CULTURE	NEGATIVE

11/02/15	GERAL, 13	BANDO DE PLAYBOY JÁ DESFILA COM FUZUIS PELO JORGE TURCO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/02/15	GERAL, 13	MÃE E FILHA SÃO ATINGIDAS APOS TIROTEIRO NA VILA ALIANÇA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/02/15	GERAL, 11	CHEFE DO TRAFICO NO ALEMÃO É PRESO EM MOTEL NO CACHAMBI	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/02/15	GERAL, 11	DH INVESTIGA MORTE DE ADOLESCENTE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/02/15	GERAL, 8	OS ULTIMOS PASSOS DE JULIANA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/02/15	GERAL, 8	VIOLENCIA FAZ UPP PARQUE PROLETARIO PROIBIR CARNAVAL	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/02/15	GERAL, 8	BALEADOS PELO EXERCITO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/02/15	GERAL, 8	PRESO ACUSADO DE MATAR POLICIAL DE UPP EM CABO FRIO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/02/15	GERAL, 8	NUM GALPÃO, 200KG DE MACONHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/02/15	GERAL, 15	PM É MORTO NA CIDADE DE DEUS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/02/15	GERAL, 15	JOVEM BALEADO NA MARÉ TEM PERNA AMPUTADA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
21/02/15	GERAL, 8	OPERAÇÃO DO BOPE DEIXA 5 MORTOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/02/15	GERAL, 12	DOIS JOVENS SÃO BALEADOS NA PALMEIRINHA, UM MORREU	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/02/15	GERAL, 14	CRIANÇA É VÍTIMA DE BALA PERDIDA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/02/15	GERAL, 12	UMA PESSOA MORREU E UMA FICOU FERIDA EM TIROTEIO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
23/02/15	GERAL, 10	QUATRO POLICIAIS MORTOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
23/02/15	GERAL, 10	GUARDA MUNICIPAL ENCONTRADO EM LIXEIRA NA ROCINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
23/02/15	GERAL, 9	A MARÉ CONTRA A VIOLENCIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
23/02/15	GERAL, 9	JOVEM BALEADO E PRESO EM GUADALUPE TEM FICHA LIMPA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/02/15	GERAL, 10	EX-CHEFE DO TRAFICO PRESO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/02/15	GERAL, 10	ÔNIBUS É QUEIMADO DURANTE PROTESTO NA ZONA NORTE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/02/15	GERAL, 10	JOVEM FILMOU SEUS ULTIMOS MINUTOS DE VIDA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
27/02/15	GERAL, 12	CORONEL É EXONERADO APÓS VIDEO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
28/02/15	PRIMEIRA PAGINA	POLICIA QUER SABER ORIGEM DAS ARMAS ACHADAS NA FAVELA DA PALMEIRINHA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
28/02/15	GERAL, 11	INTELIGENCIA DA CIVIL VAI RASTREAR ARMAS DE PM	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

28/02/15	GERAL, 11	MENINA DE 3 ANOS É BALEADA NAS COSTAS NA PEDREIRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
02/03/15	GERAL, 11	AOS 13 ANOS, BALEADO SOB CUSTODIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
02/03/15	GERAL, 10	HOMEM FERIDO POR GRANADA ACUSA MILITARES	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/03/15	GERAL, 10	UMA IMAGEM VALE MUITO MAIS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/03/15	GERAL, 8	INQUÉRITO ACUSA PM DE DISPARO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/03/15	GERAL, 8	BELTRAME DIZ QUE SAÍDA É RUA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/03/15	GERAL, 8	PM APREENDE 4TN DE DROGAS NA FAVELA DE ACARI	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/03/15	GERAL, 8	TIROTEIO NO ALEMÃO ACABA COM MULHER BALEADA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/03/15	GERAL, 10	PM INDICIADO POR MORTE EM PROTESTO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/03/15	GERAL, 10	APÓS DENÚNCIAS PM FAZ OPERAÇÃO NO SANDÁ	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/03/15	GERAL, 10	POLICIAL É BALEADO DURANTE ABORDAGEM EM SANTA TERESA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/03/15	GERAL, 6	PROTESTO CONTRA MORTE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/03/15	GERAL, 14	TODOS OS DIAS UMA SALA DE AULA DO CRIME	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/03/15	GERAL, 12	PM BALEADO NO ALEMÃO TEM MORTE CEREBRAL	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/03/15	GERAL, 12	PMS DO CASO SUMARÉ PREFEREM NÃO FALAR EM AUDIÊNCIA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/03/15	GERAL, 4	MARÉ TERÁ CICLOVIA ATÉ 2016	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
13/03/15	GERAL, 10	UPP NA BASE DA GUERRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/03/15	ESPORTES, 11	DECISÃO DA TAÇA DAS FAVELAS PARA HOMENS E MULHERES	CULTURE	POSITIVE
14/03/15	GERAL, 7	ALMIR GUINETO ABRE EVENTO NA QUADRA DA SANTA MARTA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
14/03/15	GERAL, 10	PM NA BASE DA GUERRA E DA MORTE	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/03/15	GERAL, 10	JOVEM É MORTA A FACADAS NO ALEMÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
18/03/15	GERAL, 11	CRIMINOSOS ATEIAM FOGO EM MOTO DA PM EM AREA DE UPP	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/03/15	GERAL, 2	O TETO COMO MOEDA DE TROCA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
23/03/15	GERAL, 8	VAI CHEGAR VISITA: É A POLICIA FEDERAL	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
25/03/15	GERAL, 12	DE PORTAS ABERTAS PARA O TRÁFICO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/03/15	GERAL, 12	AINDA PRESOS AOS TENTACULOS DA MILICIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

26/03/15	GERAL, 13	AGENTE DO DEGASE É RESGATADO PELA CIVIL	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/03/15	GERAL, 13	TRÁFICO É SUSPEITO DE EXECUTAR PROFESSORA NA ZONA NORTE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
28/03/15	GERAL, 13	UPP CONTINUA NO RECUO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
28/03/15	GERAL, 13	PEDIDO DE EXUMAÇÃO DE DANÇARINO DG É REFEITO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
28/03/15	GERAL, 3	PROVIDENCIA RADICAL	CULTURE	POSITIVE
28/03/15	GERAL, 12	POLICIA 24H SÓ AONDE NÃO MORA NINGUÉM	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/03/15	GERAL, 9	FACÇÕES DISPUTAM A MANGUEIRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/03/15	GERAL, 8	ERROS DO PASSADO AMEAÇAM CONJUNTOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/04/15	GERAL, 8	ALEMÃO NA LINHA DE TIRO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
02/04/15	GERAL, 10	MULHER MORRE APÓS TIROTEIO NO ALEMÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/04/15	GERAL, 3	DESTRUIÇÃO, OPERAÇÃO E MORTE NO ALEMÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/04/15	CAPA	A UPP RECUOU, A CONTA CHEGOU	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/04/15	GERAL, 3	APÓS RECUO, SECRETARIA ADMITE NOVA OCUPAÇÃO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
04/04/15	GERAL, 3	MÃE DESABAFÁ: OS POLICIAIS MATARAM O EDUARDO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/04/15	GERAL, 3	MEUS FILHOS PRESENCIARAM TUDO, ESTÃO REVOLTADOS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/04/15	GERAL, 14	MÃE DE MENINO MORTO SE REVOLTA CONTRA PMS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/04/15	GERAL, 26	O PREÇO DA SEGURANÇA	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
05/04/15	GERAL, 4	5 ANOS À ESPERA DO RESGATE	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
06/04/15	GERAL, 3	PEZÃO: PM REOCUPARÁ O COMPLEXO DO ALEMÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/04/15	GERAL, 3	FAMÍLIA DE EDUARDO EMBARCA PARA O PIAUÍ	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/04/15	CAPA	PM OCUPA MARÉ E ALEMÃO JUNTOS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
06/04/15	GERAL, 9	A PRESENÇA DO ESTADO É ESSENCIAL	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
07/04/15	GERAL, 3	NA ESCOLA, DISQUE TIROTEIO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/04/15	GERAL, 3	EU VOU FAZER VENCER A JUSTIÇA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/04/15	GERAL, 3	POLICIAL DE UPP ADMITE TER ATIRADO EM MENINO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/04/15	GERAAL, 3	FOTOGRAFO É AMEAÇADO EM REDES SOCIAIS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/04/15	GERAL, 10	DH QUER OUVIR PM QUE ATIROU EM GAROTO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/04/15	GERAL, 10	TIDA, BRAÇO DIREITO DE PLAYBOY É MORTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

11/04/15	GERAL, 8	ADOLESCENTE É VITIMA DE BALA PERDIDA NA GARDÊNIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/04/15	GERAL, 8	NO ALEMÃO, EM LADOS OPOSTOS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
12/04/15	GERAL, 12	DO CRIME PARA O FUTEBOL	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/04/15	GERAL, 12	PENHA E ALEMÃO TEM MAIS BALEADOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/04/15	GERAL, 9	PRISÃO NUM DIA, MORTE NO OUTRO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/04/15	GERAL, 9	TIROS EM AREA DE UPP	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/04/15	GERAL, 9	MISSA PARA EDUARDO REUNE MULTIDÃO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/04/15	GERAL, 4	A GENTE VAI SE VER NA GLOBO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
23/04/15	GERAL, 10	CRIANÇA BALEADA EM GUADALUPE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
23/04/15	GERAL, 4	OCULOS DE MICHAEL SÃO ACHADOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
25/04/15	GERAL, 10	TRÊS MORTOS EM OPERAÇÃO DA PM	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
25/04/15	GERAL, 10	PM APREENDE FUZIL, GRANADAS E DROGRAS NA ROCINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
28/04/15	GERAL, 3	AMEDRONTADOS PELA CASA NOVA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/04/15	GERAL, 9	PROMESSA DE MAIS POLICIAIS NAS RUAS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
30/04/15	GERAL, 14	TRÁFICO ATROPELA LEI NA ROCINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/05/15	GERAL, 10	DEPOIS DAS VANS, TRÁFICO QUER COBRAR PEDÁGIO DO COMÉRCIO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
02/05/15	GERAL, 11	PM AVANÇA NA OCUPAÇÃO DAS FAVELAS DO COMPLEXO DA MARÉ	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
03/05/15	GERAL, 4	SOBE E DESCE	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
03/05/15	GERAL, 25	NEGOCIO DE COMPADRES	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/05/15	GERAL, 9	SARGENTO MORTO NO CHAPADÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/05/15	GERAL, 9	MENINA BALEADA NO CHAPADÃO RECEBE ALTA	VIOLENCE	POSITIVE
08/05/15	DIVERSÃO EXTRA, 4	AMARÉ FUNK	CULTURE	POSITIVE
10/05/15	GERAL, 24	INVASÃO DE FAVELA COM UPP ACABA EM CHACINA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/05/15	GERAL, 10	PMS DE UPP SÃO ACUSADOS DE ESPANCAR JOVENS ATÉ A MORTE	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/05/15	SESSÃO EXTRA, 6	OS MANOS E AS MINAS DÃO AS CARAS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
11/05/15	GERAL, 4	CUFA ABRE NOVOS CURSOS EM MADUREIRA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
11/05/15	GERAL, 4	MORRO DO TURANO SEDIA COMPETIÇÃO ENTRE CICLISTAS	CULTURE	POSITIVE

11/05/15	CAPA	TIROTEIO EM FAVELAS COM UPP DEIXA DOIS MORTOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/05/15	GERAL, 9	ASSASSINADO POR ENTRAR EM FAVELA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/05/15	GERAL, 12	EU SEGURAVA A CABEÇA DO MEU MARIDO, QUE SANGRAVA MUITO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/05/15	GERAL, 3	ACABOU A PAZ	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/05/15	GERAL, 4	ATÉ AS DECLARAÇÕES DO GOVERNO SE REPETEM	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/05/15	GERAL, 14	GUERRA SAI DO CHAPADÃO PARA O CORAÇÃO DO RIO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/05/15	GERAL, 7	GRAVAÇÕES DA NOVELA ABALAM FAVELA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
18/05/15	GERAL, 3	TIRO, MORTE E PÂNICO EM MEIO A UPPS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
20/05/15	GERAL, 11	VIRADÃO COMUNITÁRIO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
22/04/15	DIVERSÃO EXTRA, 20	PEÇA MOSTRA A FAVELA COMO ELA É	CULTURE	POSITIVE
23/05/15	GERAL, 3	TRAGÉDIA QUE PODE SER TRADUZIDA EM NÚMEROS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
24/05/15	ESPORTES, 12	DE ACARI A TORONTO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
25/05/15	GERAL, 5	AS DURAS LIÇÕES NA ESCOLA DA VIDA	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
26/05/15	GERAL, 8	CASAS EM PODER DO TRAFICO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/05/15	GERAL, 8	TRÊS MORRER APÓS TIROTEIO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
27/05/15	GERAL, 11	DA PACIFICAÇÃO PARA A GUERRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
27/05/15	GERAL, 11	CORREDOR VIRA ABRIGO CONTRA TIROS EM ESCOLA NA PENHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
27/05/15	GERAL, 3	CIEP CORTA ATÉ RECREIO PARA EVITAR BRIGAS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
30/05/15	TODA EXTRA, 8-10	ELAS NÃO ANDAM, ELAS DESFILAM	CULTURE	POSITIVE
30/05/15	GERAL, 30	PAZ AMEAÇADA NO LOCAL ONDE TUDO COMEÇOU	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/06/15	GERAL, 10	POLICIA FAZ OPERAÇÃO NA SERRINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/06/15	GERAL, 7	REINTEGRAÇÃO DE POSSE TERMINA EM CONFRONTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/06/15	CAPA	MORADOR DA VILA CRUZEIRO QUE MADONNA AJUDOU É BALEADO POR PM	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/06/15	GERAL, 12	EDESON JOGAVA FUTEBOL COM PMS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/06/15	GERAL, 13	DEPOIMENTOS DIVERGENTES	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/06/15	GERAL, 13	EX-PM É CONDENADO PELA MORTE D MENINO JOÃO ROBERTO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/06/15	GERAL, 13	DOIS MORTOS E TRES <i>FERIDOS NO ROLA</i>	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

11/06/15	GERAL, 12	ROLA: MORTO ERA INVESTIGADO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/06/15	CAPA	TRÁFICO TERIA AGREDIDO MENINAS QUE SAÍRAM COM MILICIANOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/06/15	GERAL, 12	TRÁFICO TERIA AGREDIDO JOVENS DE FAVELA POR FESTA COM MILICIANOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
15/06/15	GERAL, 3	OCUPAÇÃO MILIONÁRIA, MAS SEM FUNDAMENTO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
18/06/15	GERAL, 8	ESTUDANTE É FERIDO EM CONFRONTO NA ROCINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
18/06/15	CAPA	FAMÍLIA NASCE DE NOVO NA ROCINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/06/15	GERAL, 10	MORADORES EXPULSOS DEVEM SER REALOCADOS EM PROGRAMA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/06/15	GERAL, 10	TIROTEIO NO ALEMÃO VOLTA A ASSUSTAR MORADORES	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
21/06/15	GERAL, 14	A GUERRA ÀS DROGAS FRACASSOU	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
23/06/15	GERAL, 10	SOB DOMÍNIO DO MEDO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
23/06/15	CAPA	TRÁFICO MONTA BARRICADA NO “MINHA CASA, MINHA VIDA”	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
24/06/15	GERAL, 11	CAPTURA E MORTE NO CONJUNTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
24/06/15	GERAL, 9	ENTRAVE EM NOVO INQUÉRITO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/06/15	GERAL, 12	SONHO DA CASA PRÓPRIA MARCADO A BALA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
27/06/15	GERAL, 3	MARÉ SONHA EM VOAR MAIS ALTO NA MÚSICA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
27/06/15	GERAL, 10	ATAQUE NA BRASIL E NA UPP	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
28/06/15	GERAL, 14	EXPULSOS PELA VIOLÊNCIA, EXCLUÍDOS PELA BUROCRACIA	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
30/06/15	GERAL, 12	MAJOR ACUSA TRAFICANTES POR MORTE DE AMARILDO NA ROCINHA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/06/15	GERAL, 12	FAMÍLIA DE ENTREGADOR ACUSA BOPE POR MORTE	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/06/15	GERAL, 12	ALEMÃO: MENINO DE 3 ANOS É FERIDO EM TIROTEIO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/06/15	GERAL, 10	O LUCRO DA VIOLENCIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/07/15	GERAL, 10	ONDE FALTA LUZ, ENTRA O CRIME	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
02/07/15	GERAL, 8	7 MIL FICAM SEM AULAS NA MARÉ	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
02/07/15	GERAL, 8	DH FAZ PERÍCIA NO MORRO DA COROA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
02/07/15	CAPA	TIROTEIOS DEIXAM 7 MIL SEM AULAS NA MARÉ		
03/07/15	GERAL, 10	OCUPAÇÃO DE MILITARES FEZ O LUCRO DO TRÁFICO CAIR 79%	VIOLENCE	POSITIVE
03/07/15	GERAL, 10	TIROTEIOS DEIXAM 4 MIL SEM	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

		AULAS NO ALEMÃO		
03/07/15	GERAL, 10	VIÚVA: ENTREGADOR ESTAVA DESARMADO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/07/15	GERAL, 10	INVASÃO EM UMA SEMANA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/07/15	SESSAO EXTRA, CAPA	A VOZ DO MORRO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
09/07/15	GERAL, 11	JOVEM É BALEADO NA MARÉ DURANTE OPERAÇÃO POLICIAL	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/07/15	GERAL, 5	ALUNOS DE AREAS DE RISCO PERDEM 13% DAS AULAS	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
11/07/15	GERAL, 5	DILMA, AGORA ABANDONADA	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
11/07/15	GERAL, 8	INVESTIGAÇÃO QUE POLÍCIA NÃO FEZ	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
15/07/15	GERAL, 4	TIROS E MORTE NA LAGARTIXA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
15/07/15	GERAL, 12	QUATRO PESSOAS FERIDAS EM TIROTEIO NA VILA CRUZEIRO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/07/15	GERAL, 3	ESTATÍSTICAS DE FESTIM	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/07/15	GERAL, 8	ZONA NORTE DE GUERRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/07/15	GERAL, 9	PMS ASSALTADOS EM SEGUIDA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/07/15	GERAL, 9	LAUDO REVELA QUE ENTREGADOR FOI ATINGIDO POR SETE TIROS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/07/15	GERAL, 9	MULHER É ATINGIDA POR BALA PERDIDA NO PARQUE PROLETARIO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
18/07/15	ESPORTES, 8	MMA NA FAVELA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
18/07/15	GERAL, 9	ALUNOS FICAM SEM AULA APÓS TIROTEIO NA ZONA OESTE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
20/07/15	GERAL, 4	TELEFERICO DO ALEMÃO: LICITAÇÃO NA TERÇA-FEIRA	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
21/07/15	GERAL, 9	LINCHADO APÓS ESFAQUEAR BEBÊ DE UM ANO NA ROCINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
21/07/15	GERAL, 9	PM É FERIDO NO ALEMÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
21/07/15	GERAL, 4	LICITAÇÃO PARA OPERAR O TELEFERICO DO ALEMÃO É ADIADA	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
22/07/15	GERAL, 10	POLÍCIA ESTOURA REFINARIA DA QUADRILHA DE BEIRA-MAR	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/07/15	GERAL, 10	POLICIAL É BALEADO NA PERNA NO MORRO SÃO JOÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/07/15	GERAL, 11	EM MEIO À CRISE, O BÔNUS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
22/07/15	GERAL, 11	MORADOR É MORTO POR BALA PERDIDA NO MORRO DA SERRINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
24/07/15	GERAL, 4	NO LUGAR DA MORTE, O SORRISO PELAS PAREDES	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
24/07/15	GERAL, 6	COMPANHEIROS SÓ DE PALANQUE	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE

24/07/15	GERAL, 11	ROTINA DE TERROR EM GUADALUPE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
24/07/15	GERAL, 11	HOMEM É BALEADO EM CONFRONTO NO ALEMÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
24/07/15	CAPA	MENINO SÍMBOLO DO PAC TEM FIM TRÁGICO	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
25/07/15	GERAL, 4	PROMESSA X REALIDADE	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
26/07/15	ESPORTES, 15	AS MAGRELAS NO VIDIGAL	CULTURE	POSITIVE
29/07/15	GERAL, 7	CARIOQUINHA SOBE O MORRO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
30/07/15	ESPORTES, 9	A TAÇA DAS FAVELAS VAI COMEÇAR	CULTURE	POSITIVE
02/08/15	GERAL, 13	UMA TONELADA DE DROGAS EM ACARI	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/08/15	GERAL, 9	JOVENS NA LINHA DE TIRO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/08/15	GERAL, 10	DROGAS ESCONDIDAS FORA DAS FAVELAS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/08/15	GERAL, 10	TIROTEIO DEIXA DOIS MORTOS NA FAVELA DA PALMEIRINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/08/15	GERAL, 3	O VERDADEIRO LEGADO	OLYMPICS	POSITIVE
06/08/15	GERAL, 9	CHEFE DO TRÁFICO É PRESO EM PRÉDIO NA VILA DO PAN NA BARRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/08/15	GERAL, 8	GUERRA ENTRE TRÁFICO E MÍLCIA FAZ DUAS VÍTIMAS NA GARDÊNIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/08/15	GERAL, 2B	PM OCUPA PEDREIRA POR TEMPO INDETERMINADO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/08/15	GERAL, 24	PLAYBOY: MORTO SEM PROTEÇÃO NA PEDREIRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/08/15	CAPA	MORTO PLAYBOY, BANDIDO QUE DESAFIAVA A UPP	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/08/15	GERAL, 3	NO BOLSO DE PLAYBOY	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/08/15	GERAL, 4	FAMÍLIA VAI PROCESSAR O ESTADO POR EXECUÇÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/08/15	GERAL, 9	TIROS ATINGEM CARRO DE ATRIZ	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/08/15	GERAL, 9	DA CABRITA, CHEFE DO CARAMUJO É PRESO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/08/15	GERAL, 11	VIOLENCIA OBRIGA ESCOLAS DA MARÉ A REDUZIREM HORARIOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/08/15	GERAL, 11	TIROTEIO ASSUSTA MORADORES DE FAVELA COM UPP	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/08/15	GERAL, 3	TROPA DE ELITE FOI DEIXADA DE LADO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/08/15	GERAL, 8	ATAQUES A GRANADA E PROTESTOS DEPOIS DE MORTE NA MANGUEIRA.	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/08/15	GERAL, 8	TRÊS BALEADOS DURANTE OPERAÇÃO EM MANGUINHOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

12/08/15	GERAL, 8	ADOLESCENTE FICA FERIDO EM CONFRONTO EM FAVELA DA PENHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/08/15	GERAL, 4	NEM TODOS IRÃO PRA FORA DO ESTADO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/08/15	GERAL, 8	POTENTE, MAS NUNCA UTILIZADA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/08/15	GERAL, 8	DISCIPULO DE PLAYBOY NOS ROUBOS DE CARGA É MORTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
15/08/15	GERAL, 3	ACORDO TRÁFICO MILÍCIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/08/15	ESPORTES, 14	PORTAS ABERTAS AO MMA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
16/08/15	GERAL, 9	CASAL ESTÁ DESAPARECIDO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/08/15	GERAL, 10	TODOS OS CRIMES DO GAROTO DA ZONA SUL	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/08/15	GERAL, 13	PM APREENDE 800KG DE MACONHA NA ZONA NORTE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
18/08/15	CAPA	DIA DE FÚRIA APÓS TIROS NA BANDEIRA 2	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
18/08/15	GERAL, 4	TIROTEIOS ASSUSTAM QUEM TRABALHA NO BRT	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
18/08/15	GERAL, 10	DESAPARECIMENTO PODE TER LIGAÇÃO COM BRIGAS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
18/08/15	GERAL, 10	MENORES RESGATASDAS EM CASA NO CHAPADÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/08/15	GERAL, 10	ATRAÍDO PELO TRAFICO NO ALEMÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
21/08/15	GERAL, 9	GOLPE NA MILÍCIA DE CURICICA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
21/08/15	GERAL, 9	UMA AULA DE MEDO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/08/15	GERAL, 8	GERENTE DO TRÁFICO DO TABAJARAS É BALEADO E PRESO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/08/15	GERAL, 8	TIROTEIO NA ROCINHA DEIXA UM MORTO E UM FERIDO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/08/15	GERAL, 8	CAIXAS ELETRÔNICOS FORA DA ROCINHA	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
23/08/15	GERAL, 16	POLICIAL É BALEADO NA PERNA EM TROCA DE TIROS NO BOREL	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
23/08/15	GERAL, 16	MANIFESTAÇÃO CONTRA VIOLENCIA NO ALEMÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
25/08/15	GERAL, 10	TIROTEIO NA ALERJ DEIXA 3 FERIDOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/08/15	SESSÃO EXTRA, 2	EMICIDA AO MELHOR ESTILO BEYONCE	CULTURE	POSITIVE
26/08/15	GERAL, 4	PRAINHA DO VIDEAL AGORA É OFICIAL	CULTURE	POSITIVE
27/08/15	GERAL, 8	ARTITSTAS DE FAVELA DO RIO VÃO ESPOR EM NY	CULTURE	POSITIVE
27/08/15	CAPA	ALEMÃO TEM MAIS UM DIA DE TIROTEIO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
27/08/15	GERAL, 9	O MEDO SE APRENDE DESDE CEDO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
27/08/15	GERAL, 9	POLICIA INVESTIGA MORTE NO LINS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

27/08/15	GERAL, 9	CRIANÇA É FERIDA POR BALA PERDIDA EM TIROTEIO NA VILA ALIANÇA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
28/08/15	GERAL, 10	MORRE JOVEM DE 15 ANOS BALEADA NA VILA ALIANÇA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/08/15	ESPORTES, 11	FESTIVAL DE LUTAS NO VIADUTO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
29/08/15	GERAL, 12	BANDO ARMADO INVADE ESTAÇÃO BRT	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/08/15	GERAL, 12	PARA A POLÍCIA, TRAFICANTE. SEGUNDO A FAMÍLIA, BARBEIRO.	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
02/09/15	GANHE MAIS, 13	MODA SUSTENTÁVEL QUE GERA NOVOS NEGOCIOS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
02/09/15	GERAL, 3	MÃOS A OBRA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
03/09/15	GERAL, 10	EXECUTADO EMFRENTE A AVO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/09/15	GERAL, 10	OPERAÇÃO EM DAVELA DE BARROS FILHO DEIXA UM MORTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/09/15	GERAL, 10	MEDO NO ENGENHO DA RAINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/09/15	GERAL, 10	VILA CRUZEIRO: ELO SEGUNDO DIA, 2 MIL ALUNOS SEM AULAS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
03/09/15	GERAL, 10	SUSPEITO DE TRÁFICO NA VILA ALIANÇA É PRESO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/09/15	GERAL, 10	JACARÉ ACHADO NA MARÉ	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
04/09/15	GERAL, 10	SUSPEITO DE MILÍCIA PRESO COM ARMAS E MUNICAO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/09/15	GERAL, 10	JOVEM SOME APÓS SER CAPTURADA POR BANDIDOS NA PAVUNA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/09/15	GERAL, 11	ASSOCIA ÇÃO DE CRIMINOSOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
04/09/15	GERAL, 11	TRAFICANTES DO FAZ QUEM QUER TENTAM INVADIR O JORGE TURCO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/09/15	GERAL, 11	GUERRA EM JACAREPAGUA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/09/15	GERAL, 11	PM REGATA MENOR TORURADO POR BANDIDOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/09/15	ESPORTES, 13	SOCO NA TENTACÃO	CULTURE	POSITIVE
07/09/15	GERAL, 12	POLICIA MONTA CERCO AO CRIME ORGANIZADO EM CONDOMINIOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/09/15	GERAL, 13	CRIME UNIFORMIZADO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/09/15	GERAL, 13	JOVEM MORRE POR INTOXICAÇÃO NO COMPLEXO DA MARÉ	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/09/15	GERAL, 13	DOIS POLICIAIS FERIDOS A TIROS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/09/15	GERAL, 13	CRIME EM GUERRA NO SUBURBIO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/09/15	CAPA	SUSPEITOS ESCAPAM E MENOR É ASSASSINADO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

10/09/15	GERAL, 13	TRAGÉDIA SE REPETE NA FAVELA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/09/15	GERAL, 12	JOVEM MORRE NA MARÉ	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/09/15	GERAL, 16	EXPULSOS GANHARÃO NOVO IMÓVEL	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/09/15	GERAL, 8	PRESO SUSPEITO DE ATAQUES A POLICIAIS DA UPP	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/09/15	GERAL, 8	ESTUDANTE É MORTO POR BALA PERDIDA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/09/15	GERAL, 11	POLÍCIA PRENDE ACUSADOS DE FORNECER COCAINA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/09/15	GERAL, 9	AGENTE DA SEAP DESAPARECE APOS IR A FAVELA EM SAO GONÇALO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/09/15	GERAL, 9	DOIS SUSPEITOS DE TRAFICO PRESOS NO MORRO DO CARAMUJO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/09/15	GERAL, 9	POLÍCIA FAZ BUSCAS POR CORPOS NA MATA D JORDÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/09/15	GERAL, 10	POLÍCIA ENCONTRA 150 KG DE COCAINA EM CASA NA BANDEIRA 2	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/09/15	GERAL, 10	PEIXE CAIU NA REDE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
18/09/15	GERAL, 11	TIROTEIO DEIXA UM MORTO EM FAVELA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
20/09/15	ESPORTES, 12	COM FOME DE MEDALHAS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
21/09/15	GERAL, 3	GRUPOS SE ORGANIZAM E CERCAM ÔNIBUS NA PRAIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/09/15	GERAL, 4	REDE SOCIAL É USADA PARA MARCAR BRIGAS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
24/08/15	GERAL, 9	GAROTO DE 11 ANOS MORRE NO CAJU	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
25/08/15	GERAL,11	CONFRONTO DE UM TIRO SÓ	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
29/09/15	GERAL, 11	UM TIRO E TRÊS FERIMENTOS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/09/15	GERAL, 8	A POLÍCIA QUE MATA E QUE MENTE GRAVADA EM VIDEO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
30/09/15	CAPA	AGORA TEM IMAGENS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/10/15	GERAL, 3	PERITO: FOI UM TIRO DE EXECUÇÃO EM MENOR	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/10/15	GERAL, 4	VIGILÂNCIA CIDADÃ VIA WHATSAPP	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/10/15	CAPA	EXECUÇÃO OCORREU COM A VÍTIMA DEITADA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
01/10/15	CAPA	PM QUE DUBLAVA HARRY POTTER MORRE EM TIROTEIO NO ALEMÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
02/10/15	GERAL, 10	SEM AUTO DE RESISTÊNCIA EM 2015	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
02/10/15	GERAL, 10	A GUERRA TAMBÉM É DIGITAL	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

04/10/15	GERAL, 12	MORTE DE PLAYBOY NÃO FREIA ROUBO DE CARGAS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/10/15	GERAL, 9	TRAGÉDIA EM NITEROI	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/10/15	GERAL, 9	PMS APREENDEM DROGAS EM FAVELA DA ZONA OESTE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/10/15	GANHE MAIS, 11	COMUNIDADES CRIAM CLASSIFICADOS NA WEB	CULTURE	POSITIVE
05/10/15	CAPA	CASAL ERRA CAMINHO, ENTRA EM FAVELA E MULHER MORRE FUZILADA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/10/15	GERAL, 11	FAMÍLIA ESTUDA PROCESSO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/10/15	GERAL, 10	QUADRILHA É QUE RODOU	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/10/15	GERAL, 9	RADIOGRAFIA DAS UPPS	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	NEGATIVE
10/10/15	GERAL, 9	SUSPEITO PRESO NA ROCINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/10/15	GERAL, 10	ATALHO DE RISCO NO RIO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/10/15	GERAL, 10	POLÍCIA BUSCA ASSASSINOS DE IDOSA NO MORRO DO CARAMUJO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/10/15	GERAL, 3	PRAÇAS FARÃO TREINAMENTO COM PISTOLA DE CHOQUE	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
13/10/15	GERAL, 12	PMS FARÃO RECICLAGEM PARA SE ADAPTAR A NOVO CURRÍCULO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
13/10/15	GERAL, 12	APÓS MORADORA SER BALEADA PMS TEM ARMAS APREENHIDAS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/10/15	GERAL, 12	SUSPEITO DE MATAR PM DUBLADOR É PRESO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
15/10/15	GERAL, 9	TRÁFICO MATOU PAIS DE CRIANÇA DEIXADA NO BRT	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
15/10/15	GERAL, 10	MORTE E PROTESTO NO CHAPADÃO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
15/10/15	CAPA	DESTRUIÇÃO APÓS MORTE NO CHAPADÃO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/10/15	GERAL, 8	JOVENS SOMEM E POLÍCIA APURA AÇÃO DO TRÁFICO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/10/15	GERAL, 10	FU DA MINEIRA VAI SER LEVADO PARA FORA DO RIO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/10/15	GERAL, 10	CONFRONTO DEIXA UM MORTO E UM FERIDO NO MORRO DA FALLET	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
20/10/15	GERAL, 11	PEZÃO PEDE QUE O EXÉRCITO OCUPE O CHAPADÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
20/10/15	GERAL, 11	MULHER É VÍTIMA DE BALA PERDIDA DENTRO DE CASA NO FALLET	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
21/10/15	GERAL, 11	MILÍCIA EXIBE FUZIS E VIRA ALVO DA POLÍCIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
25/10/15	GERAL, 17	MÉDICO MORTO PENSAVA EM SE MUDAR	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
25/10/15	GERAL, 17	TENSÃO EM DUAS ÁREAS DE UPP	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/10/15	GERAL, 9	ASSÉDIO NA UPP	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

26/10/15	GERAL, 9	PARENTES E AMIGOS SE DESPEDEM DE MÉDICO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
28/10/15	GERAL, 10	PROTESTO POR ASSASSINATO NA GARDÊNIA FECHA AYRTON SENNA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
02/11/15	GERAL, 7	POLICIAL MILITAR É BALEADO NO MORRO DA PROVIDÊNCIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
02/11/15	GERAL, 7	DOIS HOMENS SÃO FERIDOS EM TIROTEIO NA FAVELA DO ROLA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/11/15	ESPORTES, 10	MMA NA CUFA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
05/11/15	GERAL, 8	CUFA FAZ MARATONA CULTURAL	CULTURE	POSITIVE
05/11/15	GERAL, 12	QUEM ACABOU PUNIDA FUI EU	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
05/11/15	GERAL, 12	POLICIAL MILITAR É BALEADO NA SERRINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/11/15	GERAL, 10	PMS AINDA INVESTIGADOS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/11/15	GERAL, 10	DUAS CRIANÇAS BALEADAS NA MANGUEIRA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/11/15	GERAL, 10	DELEGADO SERÁ CONVOCADO POR CPI	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/11/15	GERAL, 15	UPP PRENDE ISAÍAS DO BOREL	VIOLENCE	POSITIVE
08/11/15	GERAL, 13	DIGNOS DE APLAUSOS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
09/11/15	GERAL, 9	PM NÃO SE ARREPENDE DE TIRO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
09/11/15	GERAL, 9	APÓS PRISÃO DE ISAÍAS, CONEXÃO BOREL-MARÉ NA MIRA DA POLÍCIA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/11/15	GERAL, 8	PMS QUE ATIRAM MAIS VÃO FAZER CURSO DE RECICLAGEM	VIOLENCE	POSITIVE
10/11/15	GERAL, 8	DUAS PESSOAS MORREM EM TIROTEIO NA CAROBINHA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
10/11/15	GERAL, 8	POLÍCIA PRENDE 4 POR TRÁFICO DE DROGAS EM PARADA DE LUCAS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
11/11/15	GANHE MAIS, 15	EMPREENDEDORES CONECTADOS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
12/11/15	GERAL, 8	ASSÉDIO NA UPP: ASSEMBLÉIA QUER EXPLICAÇÃO DA PM	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/11/15	GERAL, 8	MANICURE PRESA POR TRÁFICO DE DROGAS NA MARÉ	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/11/15	GERAL, 8	TIROTEIO E MORTE NO MUQUIÇO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
15/11/15	GERAL, 18	HERÓIS DO DIA-A-DIA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
16/11/15	CAPA	UMA TONELADA DE MACONHA É ENCONTRADA COM AJUDA DO FARO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/11/15	GERAL, 11	UMA TONELADA DE DROGAS APREENDIDA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/11/15	GERAL, 11	POLÍCIA PRENDE DOIS TRAFIANTES DA CONGONHA E CAJUEIRO	VIOLENCE	POSITIVE

18/11/15	GERAL, 11	CRIMES VIOLENTOS: AUMENTO NA UPP	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/11/15	GERAL, 14	PM É DENUNCIADO POR MORTE	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
21/11/15	GERAL, 9	AUTOS DE RESISTÊNCIA: MAIS MORTES NA CAPITAL	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
21/11/15	GERAL, 9	OPERAÇÃO DA PM NO ALEMÃO APREENDE ARMAS E PRENDE DOIS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
21/11/15	GERAL, 9	ACUSADO DE TRÁFICO NO JURAMENTINHO É PRESO EM RODÍZIO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/11/15	GERAL, 6	O MICROFONE É UMA ARMA PODEROSÍSSIMA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
22/11/15	GERAL, 18	HOMENAGEM MERECEIDA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
23/11/15	GERAL, 5	COM VAGAS, MAS SEM ALUNOS	CULTURE	NEGATIVE
24/11/15	ESPORTES, 9	A TORCIDA QUE JOGA JUNTO COM O TIME	CULTURE	POSITIVE
26/11/15	ESPORTES, 2	OS HERÓIS DAS COMUNIDADES	CULTURE	POSITIVE
26/11/15	GERAL, 11	DENÚNCIA CONTRA PM É ACEITA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/11/15	GERAL, 11	PM DE UPP É ASSASSINADO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/11/15	GERAL, 11	BALA PERDIDA ATINGE MULHER NO ALEMÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/11/15	GERAL, 11	CHEFE DO TRÁFICO NO ROLA É PRESO COM MAIS 6	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/11/15	ESPORTES, 8	ESSES JOVENS SÃO ESTRELAS	CULTURE	POSITIVE
29/11/15	GERAL, 19	CAMPEÕES DA SOLIDARIEDADE	CULTURE	POSITIVE
01/12/15	GERAL, 3	DESDE 2011, POLÍCIA MATA EM MÉDIA UM POR DIA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
02/12/15	GERAL, 7	EMOÇÃO EM NOITE EXTRAORDINÁRIA	CULTURE	POSITIVE
03/12/15	GERAL, 8	FESTA PARA QUEM MERECE	CULTURE	POSITIVE
04/12/15	GERAL, 10	HOMEM É PRESO COM ARMAS E DROGAS NO MORRO DOS MACACOS	VIOLENCE	POSITIVE
05/12/15	ESPORTES, 11	TAÇA DAS FAVELAS TERÁ APOIO DO FACEBOOK	CULTURE	POSITIVE
06/12/15	GERAL, 15	ANTES DE FUZILAMENTO, FLERTE E TROCA DE TELEFONE	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
06/12/15	GERAL, 15	HOMEM É MORTO EM AÇÃO DA PM NA ILHA DO GOVERNADOR	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/12/15	GERAL, 10	DOIS POLICIAIS SÃO MORTOS EM EMBOSCADA NO JACARÉ	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
07/12/15	GERAL, 10	SARGENTOS IRÃO RESPONDER A PROCESSO E PODERÃO SER EXPULSOS APÓS PROPINA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/12/15	GERAL, 10	NA UPP SEIS ANOS EM UM	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/12/15	GERAL, 11	MP VAI INVESTIGAR MAJOR SOBRE EMPRESA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
08/12/15	GERAL, 3	MENINO ENCONTRADO MORTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

		DENTRO DE TONEL		
12/12/15	GERAL, 3	PROPINA E INFORMAÇÕES DA PM PARA O TRÁFICO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/12/15	GERAL, 8	SEQUESTRADOS NA MARÉ	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
12/12/15	GERAL, 8	ACUSADOS DE MATAR IRANIANO NO VIDIGAL TEM PRISÃO DECRETADA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
13/12/15	GERAL, 11	MENINO DE DOIS ANOS MORRE VÍTIMA DE BALA PERDIDA	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/12/15	GERAL, 10	CAIXINHA DE NATAL PARA PAGAR O ENTERRO DE RUAN	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
14/12/15	GERAL, 10	MACONHA EM MANGUINHOS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
15/12/15	GERAL, 10	INFORMAÇÕES DE OPERAÇÕES PARA GRUPOS DO CRIME	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
15/12/15	GERAL, 10	POLICIAIS S~ÃO DENUNCIADOS POR CINCO MORTES EM COSTA BARROS	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
15/12/15	GERAL, 10	BOPE VAI TREINAR POLICIAIS DO JACAREZINHO	GOVERNMENT ACTIONS	POSITIVE
16/12/15	GERAL, 12	INFORMAÇÃO, ARMA E MUNIÇÃO	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
16/12/15	GERAL, 12	UPP DO JACAREZINHO RECEBE CURSO DE REALINHAMENTO	POLICE VIOLENCE	POSITIVE
17/12/15	GERAL, 10	APÓS PRISÕES, 60 POLICIAIS SÃO TRANSFERIDOS DO BOPE	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/12/15	GERAL, 10	ÔNIBUS É QUEIMADO EM PROTESTO NA MANGUEIRA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
17/12/15	GERAL, 10	PMS PRENDEM 4 SUSPEITOS EM OPERAÇÃO NA PAVUNA	VIOLENCE	POSITIVE
18/12/15	GERAL, 11	POLÍCIA QUE MATA E MORRE	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
18/12/15	GERAL, 11	UM SUSPEITO, 100 IPHONES	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/12/15	GERAL, 3	MOCHILAS DE PROPINA ENTRAVAM NO QG	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/12/15	GERAL, 3	BALA PERDIDA MATA MULHER NO COMPLEXO DO ALEMÃO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
19/12/15	GERAL, 3	SARGENTO DA PM É BALEADO EM TIROTEIO NA VILA KENNEDY	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
20/12/15	GERAL, 11	OFICIAIS SÃO SEPARADOS NO BEP	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
20/12/15	GERAL, 11	MÃE E FILHO MORTOS NO MESMO LUGAR	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/12/15	GERAL, 3	DENÚNCIA DE PROPINA NA CÚPULA DA POLÍCIA	POLICE VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
22/12/15	GERAL, 11	CABRITINHOS VÃO CIRCULAR EM TRÊS FAVELAS DA PAVUNA	SOCIAL INEQUALITY	NEGATIVE
25/12/15	GERAL, 3	JOVENS MORREM EM ATAQUE NA ZONA OESTE	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/12/15	GERAL, 3	POLÍCIA INVESTIGA SE MILÍCIA DA GARDÊNIA ATACOU CIDADE DE DEUS	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE
26/12/15	GERAL, 3	TIROTEIO NA ROCINHA DEIXA UM MORTO	VIOLENCE	NEGATIVE

APPENDIX 3 – LIST OF WORDS FROM O GLOBO WORD CLOUD

*THE WORDS “SÃO” (ARE) AND “QUE” (THAT) WERE EXCLUDED FROM THE LIST

Times it appeared	Word	Times it appeared	Word	Times it appeared	Word
32	FAVELA	1	COMPROMETE	1	FILHOS
29	UPP	1	TESTEMUNHA	1	INVADE
24	FAVELAS	1	PRIORIDADE	1	RETIRA
19	POLÍCIA	1	DEPOIMENTO	1	FALTAM
18	MARÉ	1	INCANSÁVEL	1	CURSOS
14	ALEMÃO	1	SAPATILHAS	1	IMAGEM
13	PMS	1	ENTREGADOR	1	FALHAS
12	ROCINHA	1	IMAGINÁRIO	1	PROJAC
12	ANOS	1	TEMPORÁRIO	1	RAJADA
12	NÃO	1	COPACABANA	1	ADMITE
11	JOVEM	1	BEIJA-FLOR	1	VARGEM
11	MORTE	1	CONSTRUÇÃO	1	LEVADO
11	BALA	1	RECRUTADOS	1	MORTAS
10	DURANTE	1	ASSASSINAR	1	PRISÃO
10	RIO	1	IMPUNIDADE	1	MORRA M
9	VIOLÊNCIA	1	RECORRENTE	1	CAIXAS
9	CONFRONTO	1	DEMOLIÇÕES	1	OUTRAS
9	PERDIDA	1	BRASILEIRO	1	FRENTE
9	CONTRA	1	DESASTROSA	1	VERSOS
9	MORTO	1	ESPETÁCULO	1	ISAIAS
9	VAI	1	TRAGEDIAS	1	GOOGLE
8	TIROTEIO	1	RECONHECE	1	DEFESA
8	JOVENS	1	BADMINTON	1	NINJAS
8	MENINO	1	DANÇARINO	1	NENHUM
8	MORRO	1	CONTINUAR	1	OCUPAR
7	PREFEITURA	1	BABILÔNIA	1	REVOGA
7	COMPLEXO	1	MADUREIRA	1	SINAIS
7	AMARILDO	1	ACESSÍVEL	1	ROUBAR
7	EDUARDO	1	CLÁSSICOS	1	TEATRO
7	SOBRE	1	ESCADARIA	1	EMBORA
7	DEIXA	1	MANHATTAN	1	GORDAS
7	PELA	1	PRESERVAR	1	TOMAVA
7	MATA	1	EXPLOSIVO	1	CABEÇA

7	AÇÃO	1	INCLINADO	1	VIAGEM
6	BELTRAME	1	INTEGRADA	1	D'AGUA
6	BALEADO	1	APRESENTA	1	QUERIA
6	ÔNIBUS	1	DESIGUAIS	1	AVANÇO
6	MORTES	1	AFASTADOS	1	CRIMES
6	CIDADE	1	PROTOCOLO	1	REGIÃO
6	MARTA	1	EXPOSIÇÃO	1	LIXÕES
6	APÓS	1	HISTORIAS	1	MORREM
6	CASA	1	FACEKOMBI	1	BAIRRO
6	NAS	1	CONFLITOS	1	ATAQUE
5	MANGUEIR A	1	CHINATOWN	1	DIVIDE
5	CRIANÇAS	1	ENTERRADO	1	PARTIU
5	CHAPADÃ O	1	DESPERTAR	1	EQUIPE
5	ENTERRO	1	INGRESSOS	1	PONTAS
5	FERIDOS	1	COLABORAR	1	GRANDE
5	MULHER	1	AUDITORIA	1	PERDAS
5	MORRE	1	TIROTEIOS	1	PRISAO
5	SANTA	1	CONCORRER	1	GANGUE
5	ESTÁ	1	PERIGOSAS	1	CORETO
5	DONA	1	SUSPEITAS	1	VISITA
5	BOPE	1	DEFENSORA	1	CAUSAM
5	VIDA	1	LENIÊNCIA	1	CHAPEU
5	MÃE	1	FORROBODÓ	1	CARGAS
4	INSEGURA NÇA	1	SEGURANÇA	1	CRESCE
4	POLICIAIS	1	SUSPENSAS	1	RAIO-X
4	PROTESTO	1	PERSEGUIU	1	PARQUE
4	EXPANSÃO	1	AUSTRALIA	1	DESVIO
4	PEDREIRA	1	POPULARES	1	MELHOR
4	TERMINA	1	OPERAÇÕES	1	FORÇAS
4	PLAYBOY	1	MILITARES	1	TROPAS
4	LIMITES	1	ESTRUTURA	1	JUNIOR
4	VIDIGAL	1	ORQUESTRA	1	COMEÇA
4	TRÁFICO	1	LICITAÇÃO	1	SABADO
4	NITEROI	1	PERMANETE	1	VOLTAM
4	ESCOLA	1	LIBERADÃO	1	ABAIXO
4	TERESA	1	BABILONIA	1	CANTAR
4	BAILES	1	PROIBIDÃO	1	SUMIDO
4	PRENDE	1	DENUNCIAS	1	ESGOTO
4	TERIA	1	FOTOGRAFO	1	CAMPUS
4	MUNDO	1	FRANCESES	1	IRMÃOS

4	ENTRE	1	CONCESSÃO	1	SUMIÇO
4	SOB	1	TORTURADO	1	DETIDO
4	TER	1	EXPRESSAS	1	BUSCAS
3	DESAPARECIDO	1	INOCENTES	1	PLURAL
3	COMUNIDADES	1	OPERAÇÃO	1	HAVERÁ
3	COMERCIANTE	1	CONSTRUIR	1	PIERRE
3	FAVELIZAÇÃO	1	TRABALHAM	1	GANHAR
3	ADOLESCENTE	1	CONDIÇÕES	1	PORTAS
3	MANGUINHOS	1	ESCOLINHA	1	ADIADA
3	ENCONTRADO	1	ESPERANÇA	1	PÂNICO
3	QUEIMADOS	1	MONITORAR	1	CRIARÁ
3	PERIFERIA	1	COMPLEXOS	1	URBANO
3	INQUÉRITO	1	FORAGIDOS	1	SANGUE
3	PERDIDAS	1	RELÂMPAGO	1	PERDEU
3	ADVOGADO	1	PUXADINHO	1	ESTUDO
3	OPERAÇÃO	1	SITIADAS	1	FERIDA
3	FAMÍLIA	1	EXECUTAR	1	LEVADA
3	TRAFICO	1	PARCERIA	1	PESSOA
3	ESCOLAS	1	DESORDEM	1	PARADO
3	CRIANÇA	1	ARRETADO	1	AFIMAR
3	SOCIAL	1	SOZINHOS	1	MAZELA
3	QUATRO	1	INTERNET	1	ATIRAM
3	MORTOS	1	DENUNCIA	1	OITAVA
3	TIROS	1	OCUPAÇÃO	1	PROIBE
3	AREAS	1	CONSEGUE	1	VITIMA
3	AULAS	1	ESTIMULA	1	MATADO
3	CERCO	1	APREENDE	1	REVELA
3	MENOS	1	MULHERES	1	VIGIAR
3	LIVRO	1	RENOVADA	1	ERGUER
3	PEZÃO	1	EMPRESAS	1	CONTER
3	PEZAO	1	CASTILHO	1	GUETOS
3	ACARI	1	ALICIADO	1	HOMENS
3	GANHA	1	CARENTES	1	EMOÇÃO
3	RISCO	1	APONTADO	1	VOLTAR
3	AÇÕES	1	SUCESSOR	1	GRAVOU

3	MINHA	1	CIRCUITO	1	AÉREAS
3	ÁREAS	1	CRIATIVA	1	CORREM
3	PRESO	1	RESPONDA	1	CHEGAM
3	BEIRA	1	VERMELHA	1	JANELA
3	VILA	1	ARTISTAS	1	CHAPÉU
3	MEDO	1	SUPLÍCIO	1	BURACO
3	FUNK	1	PEDREIRO	1	BAILE
3	TRES	1	VIZINHOS	1	LIDAR
3	ARTE	1	ESTATUTO	1	CERCA
3	PEDE	1	FLAGRADO	1	PENHA
3	DUAS	1	ATACANDO	1	OLHAR
3	ARCO	1	EXCESSÃO	1	GRUPO
3	FOGO	1	PARTIDAS	1	BARRA
3	VÃO	1	TRAGÉDIA	1	PEDIR
3	MIL	1	CHOCARAM	1	LINHA
3	MAR	1	BARBARIE	1	FLUPP
3	HÁ	1	ESGOTADA	1	AJUDA
3	ÀS	1	MEDIAÇÃO	1	PORTE
2	DESAPARE CIMENTO	1	ESPECIAL	1	PORTA
2	METROPOL ITANO	1	ATIVISTA	1	PENAS
2	CRESCIME NTO	1	OPINIÕES	1	DURAS
2	INVESTIGA DO	1	PRECISAM	1	BANCA
2	TELEFERIC O	1	DINHEIRO	1	CORES
2	CONFRONT OS	1	DESCARTA	1	PUDER
2	APLICATIV O	1	PREJUIZO	1	BOREL
2	ABANDON ADO	1	MOCIDADE	1	RADIO
2	MOTORIST AS	1	RECURSOS	1	PACTO
2	TRAFICAN TE	1	FEDERAIS	1	GAUDI
2	COMANDA NTE	1	EMPREGOS	1	STORM
2	TIROTEIRO	1	NOTÍCIAS	1	JONGO
2	BLINDADA S	1	BADALADA	1	ACABA
2	INVESTIGA	1	TRAJETOS	1	PLANO
2	ALPINISTA	1	RECLAMAM	1	FINAL

2	AUTODROMO	1	CULTURAL	1	FALTA
2	DERRUBADA	1	MARATONA	1	RAPAZ
2	IRREGULAR	1	EXTORSÃO	1	MENOR
2	MORADORES	1	AUMENTAM	1	IDADE
2	PROCESSADOR	1	ACUSAÇÃO	1	BONDE
2	PISTOLAS	1	DESCULPA	1	IRAJÁ
2	INAUGURA	1	AMEAÇADA	1	MATAM
2	ATINGIDA	1	PESQUISA	1	NEGAR
2	DENÚNCIA	1	REOCUPAR	1	PRAÇA
2	CONFLITO	1	REMOÇÕES	1	ALICE
2	POLICIAL	1	ATIRARAM	1	NOVOS
2	PRIMEIRO	1	CARAMUJO	1	ORDEM
2	BANDIDOS	1	EDUCAÇÃO	1	BANGU
2	PROGRAMA	1	DITADURA	1	CUNHA
2	PUNIDOS	1	ENTREGAM	1	JUNHO
2	CENTROS	1	MORADIAS	1	COBRA
2	ASSUSTA	1	FESTIVAL	1	CUSTO
2	RETORNO	1	LINCHADO	1	SAMBA
2	PROJETO	1	LEVARIAM	1	NOITE
2	AVANÇAM	1	CONCEITO	1	POUCO
2	DETIDOS	1	SUSPEITA	1	RIGOR
2	ACORDES	1	PARALELO	1	FUNKS
2	CRUZADO	1	OFICIAIS	1	PREVÊ
2	PUBLICO	1	HISTORIA	1	POSSE
2	PROMETE	1	CRITICAM	1	ERROS
2	TURISMO	1	PASSISTA	1	FARSA
2	REVOLTA	1	APRENDE	1	GATOS
2	CÂMERAS	1	SUSPEITO	1	FONTE
2	MARCAS	1	APAGADAS	1	MARCA
2	ESTUDA	1	DEPÓSITO	1	REDUZ
2	ESTILO	1	PERSISTE	1	VIUVA
2	PRESOS	1	PONTUAIS	1	FEREM
2	ACABOU	1	GOVERNAR	1	AFETO
2	FERIDO	1	JUDICIAL	1	FALAR
2	EVASÃO	1	PASSINHO	1	CHEFE
2	DEBATE	1	REGISTRA	1	ALUNO
2	REGRAS	1	JEITINHO	1	TINHA
2	ROTINA	1	CONFIRMA	1	SUSHI

2	TORRES	1	CARIOCAS	1	MORTA
2	FALLET	1	MILICIAS	1	IMITA
2	POESIA	1	CRUZEIRO	1	BANDA
2	BARROS	1	QUEIMADO	1	PODRE
2	CARLOS	1	ACUSADOS	1	LONGE
2	ALUNOS	1	ESPANCAR	1	EXAME
2	CORPOS	1	INSTALAR	1	CORPO
2	MENINA	1	SOTAQUE	1	DIZEM
2	GUERRA	1	SUCESSO	1	TROCA
2	ALEMAO	1	AUMENTO	1	LAZER
2	URBANA	1	ULTIMOS	1	NENÉM
2	ENTRAR	1	REJEITA	1	NADAM
2	DROGAS	1	FAMOSÃO	1	BLITZ
2	PODER	1	OFERECE	1	NUNCA
2	CRUEL	1	PEQUENA	1	ERROU
2	HOMEM	1	ISOLADA	1	CULPA
2	SAÍDA	1	LIGAÇÃO	1	FALOU
2	CAMPO	1	ESCAPAR	1	LEVAR
2	ROUBO	1	CINISMO	1	BLACK
2	PREÇO	1	ATIRADO	1	BUSCA
2	LETAL	1	DEVOLVE	1	SERÃO
2	EXIGE	1	AVANÇOS	1	DOCIÊ
2	ARMAS	1	ESFORÇO	1	COROA
2	MATAR	1	ESCOLAR	1	VEZES
2	CASAL	1	SOCIAIS	1	PONTE
2	BALAS	1	MISSÕES	1	MUDAM
2	CASAS	1	ALTURAS	1	MATOU
2	CRISE	1	GALERIA	1	SONHO
2	FORAM	1	LICENÇA	1	VIROU
2	CARRO	1	AJUDARÁ	1	CRIME
2	FATAL	1	ROTEIRO	1	USADA
2	COSTA	1	EMPATIA	1	DENDÊ
2	GERAL	1	CULPADO	1	FAZEM
2	SEGUE	1	CIDADES	1	CANAL
2	NOVAS	1	TORTURA	1	ALPES
2	JOGOS	1	PRECISA	1	RITMO
2	SUBIR	1	BAIXADA	1	SERIA
2	AMIGO	1	CHANCES	1	KARLA
2	MUDAR	1	UNIDADE	1	METRO
2	DEPOR	1	ACUSADO	1	MOSCA
2	ATRAI	1	CHEFIAR	1	PIAUI
2	FILHO	1	ATACADA	1	PEDEM
2	CHEGA	1	SOZINHA	1	MUROS

2	CLIMA	1	RESOLVE	1	VERDE
2	FUZIL	1	DANAÇÃO	1	VENDA
2	PROVA	1	PARTIDO	1	NORTE
2	FORÇA	1	ENTREGA	1	TÊNIS
2	MEIO	1	LOTAÇÃO	1	SILVA
2	JOGO	1	INTENSO	1	FOTOS
2	ALÉM	1	ACHADOS	1	PINTA
2	CAJU	1	ATENÇÃO	1	HARPA
2	DEUS	1	MORADIA	1	PULSO
2	NOVA	1	CULTURA	1	FIRME
2	MIRA	1	PERÍCIA	1	CERTO
2	BOLA	1	ELEVADO	1	VAMOS
2	LINS	1	AFROUXA	1	TENSO
2	CASO	1	DERRUBA	1	NEGO
2	LEVA	1	AUMENTA	1	PLAY
2	MAPA	1	REFORMA	1	FAIR
2	ZONA	1	CRESCER	1	RUMO
2	PAES	1	MARGENS	1	24HS
2	ALVO	1	PORSCHE	1	ARMA
2	HOJE	1	GARANTE	1	AULA
2	SIDO	1	COLEGIO	1	SOBE
2	QUER	1	COMEÇAR	1	MAPS
2	NOS	1	ARMADAS	1	TRÊS
2	PRA	1	MINEIRA	1	VIRA
2	VOU	1	MACACOS	1	FASE
2	DIA	1	MARCARÁ	1	ERRO
2	USO	1	REDUZIU	1	CUFA
2	PAI	1	OUSADIA	1	LATA
2	PAZ	1	CONOSCO	1	PAIS
2	ATÉ	1	SABORES	1	PAÍS
2	SÓ	1	CENARIO	1	SECA
1	DESENVOLVIMENTO	1	ALERTAR	1	DURA
1	RETROSCA VADEIRA	1	MORADOR	1	OITO
1	CONTRABANDISTAS	1	ATITUDE	1	PIER
1	NOTICIA/O PINIAO	1	PERDIDE	1	MAUÁ
1	EMPREENDEDORES	1	ENCOLHE	1	ROTA
1	ESTACIONAMENTO	1	MOSTRAM	1	SUIS
1	CIVILIZAT	1	PRESTAM	1	BOCA

	ORIO		
1	INFORMAL IDADE	1	BALEADA
1	INTERNACI ONAL	1	PIALRES
1	CRIMINALI DADE	1	CARENTE
1	RECONSTR UÇNAO	1	MANEIRA
1	ADOLESC NTES	1	DESISTA
1	DESARMA MENTO	1	ANDARAÍ
1	DIFICULDA DES	1	ABERTAS
1	REINTEGR AÇÃO	1	CRITICA
1	INDEPEND ENTE	1	ERRARAM
1	PRECARIE DADE	1	VERGIER
1	IDENTIFIC ADO	1	EFETIVO
1	CORREGED ORIA	1	SUMÁRIO
1	POLICIAME NTO	1	URBANOS
1	PLANEJAM ENTO	1	DOAÇÕES
1	MOTOTAXI STAS	1	RECOLHE
1	RESPONSÁ VEIS	1	VALONGO
1	ASSASSINA DOS	1	RODOVIA
1	COMUNITÁ RIO	1	LADRÕES
1	EXPLICAÇ ÕES	1	MILHÕES
1	MARAVILH OSO	1	ESTRADA
1	PACIFICAÇ ÃO	1	LANÇADO
1	SEQUEST ADO	1	EFETIVA
1	PALMEIRIN HA	1	SOLUÇÃO
		1	HORA
		1	JOSE
		1	WAZE
		1	SEJA
		1	JAZZ
		1	CINE
		1	MAZE
		1	FERE
		1	ÁREA
		1	COPA
		1	CITA
		1	CADÊ
		1	PAPO
		1	SEDE
		1	PEGA
		1	HYPE
		1	REAL
		1	ALTO
		1	MAES
		1	ARES
		1	RUAS
		1	TOMA
		1	ACHA

1	SECRETARIAS	1	ASSALTO	1	DIAS
1	DESATIVADOS	1	ESCALÃO	1	FOCO
1	LANÇAMENTOS	1	NOTICIA	1	OLHO
1	PROVIDÊNCIA	1	PÉSSIMO	1	APOS
1	ANTIGAMENTE	1	EXEMPLO	1	VIAS
1	AFEGANISTÃO	1	RESISTE	1	ÁGUA
1	PERIFÉRICOS	1	FACÇÕES	1	ADOR
1	PARAATAQUES	1	ESPALHA	1	MAIO
1	JACAREZINHO	1	MACONHA	1	LADO
1	CHICUNGUNHA	1	ANISTIA	1	CAEM
1	ASSASSINATO	1	FECHADA	1	TIRO
1	SEQUESTRO	1	FABIANA	1	ERRA
1	TREINAMENTO	1	CHACINA	1	KIT
1	CARBONIZADO	1	DECISÃO	1	CRÊ
1	RECONSTRUIR	1	ADIANTE	1	DEL
1	REENCONTREI	1	REMOÇÃO	1	LIA
1	AFASTAMENTO	1	BATALHA	1	SUL
1	CONTENCIOSO	1	JUVENIL	1	PRO
1	INVIABILIZA	1	REFORÇO	1	SOL
1	IMOBILIÁRIA	1	ATAQUES	1	QSE
1	ESPECULAÇÃO	1	QUINTAL	1	1BI
1	PRECONCEITO	1	ESTUPRO	1	VEZ
1	SENTIMENTOS	1	TUMULTO	1	MÃO
1	TRAFICAN	1	IPANEMA	1	VIA

	TES		
1	APRENDEM OS	1	DIREÇÃO
1	PETROPOLI S	1	EMPACOU
1	SEGREGAÇ ÃO	1	CELULAR
1	LITERATU RA	1	MOMENTO
1	PASSAPOR TE	1	RENASCE
1	JULGAMEN TO	1	DESAFIO
1	CERRO- CORÁ	1	JUSTIÇA
1	DESEMPEN HO	1	BEZERRA
1	SECRETÁRI O	1	ARTISTA
1	EXTORQUI AM	1	PEQUENO
1	REPORTAG EM	1	PROCURA
1	REALIZAÇ ÃO	1	CORONEL
1	EXIGÊNCIA S	1	CAUTELA
1	RECEPTAÇ ÃO	1	INIBEM
1	EMARANH ADO	1	RISCOS
1	ITINERÁRI O	1	ACEITA
1	VIZINHAN ÇA	1	JORNAL
1	LIÇÕES	1	ANULAR
		1	AÇO
		1	THE
		1	DNA
		1	MEA
		1	QUÊ
		1	NÓS
		1	BOB
		1	VAO
		1	LEI
		1	POE
		1	UPA
		1	GPS
		1	MÁS
		1	BOA
		1	AOS
		1	DER
		1	JÁ
		1	PÉ

APPENDIX 4 – LIST OF WORDS FROM EXTRA WORD CLOUD

*THE WORDS “SÃO” (ARE) AND “QUE” (THAT) WERE EXCLUDED FROM THE LIST

Times it appeared	Word	Times it appeared	Word	Times it appeared	Word
36	UPP	1	JACAREPAGUA	1	ACEITA
28	TRÁFICO	1	FUZILAMENTO	1	MELHOR
27	ALEMÃO	1	PROVIDENCIA	1	CAIXAS
26	TIROTEIO	1	CARIOQUINHA	1	ATACOU
25	POLÍCIA	1	TERÇA-FEIRA	1	ROUBOS
24	MORTE	1	MONITORADAS	1	CÚPULA
21	MORTO	1	DECLARAÇÕES	1	ACORDO
19	FAVELA	1	COMUNITÁRIO	1	ESTILO
16	PRESO	1	PACIFICAÇÃO	1	PUNIDA
15	BALEADO	1	APREENDIDAS	1	INVADE
15	APÓS	1	ASSASSINATO	1	ARMAD O
15	MARÉ	1	TREINAMENTO	1	DIGNOS
13	GUERRA	1	RADIOGRAFIA	1	BUSCAS
12	BALA	1	DESCOBRIDOR	1	REPETE
11	OPERAÇÃO O	1	EXPLICAÇÃO	1	IMÓVEL
11	POLICIAL	1	CONECTADOS	1	CORPOS
11	ROCINHA	1	BOREL-MARÉ	1	AJUDOU
11	MORRO	1	ASSEMBLÉIA	1	EDESON
11	TIROS	1	GOVERNADOR	1	JOGAVA
10	FAVELAS	1	ENCONTRADA	1	JORDÃO
10	PERDIDA	1	APREENDIDA	1	SAÍRAM
10	JOVEM	1	DENUNCIADO	1	DEIXSA
10	VILA	1	TRAFIANTES	1	ACHADO
10	VAI	1	INFORMAÇÃO	1	DAVELA
9	POLICIAIS	1	DESAPARECE	1	TENTAM
9	DROGAS	1	REALOCADOS	1	BRASIL
9	MORRE	1	MILIONÁRIA	1	MÚSICA
9	DEIXA	1	FUNDAMENTO	1	REGATA
9	ANOS	1	BUROCRACIA	1	EMOÇÃO
8	SUSPEITO	1	ORGANIZADO	1	MERECE
8	CHAPADÃ O	1	FERIMENTOS	1	SUMARÉ

8	MORTOS	1	PROFESSORA	1	QUADRA
8	MENINO	1	TENTACULOS	1	EVENTO
8	ZONA	1	ABANDONADA	1	IMAGEM
8	TIRO	1	VIGILÂNCIA	1	FLERTE
8	NÃO	1	ASSALTADOS	1	TERESA
7	CONFRONTO	1	FOGUETEIRO	1	RAINHA
7	PROTESTO	1	COMANDANTE	1	PEDIDO
7	PLAYBOY	1	VESTIBULAR	1	MARCAR
7	JOVENS	1	RECORDISTA	1	CHEGAR
7	MULHER	1	SECRETARIA	1	ATEIAM
7	FERIDO	1	REVOLTADOS	1	VISITA
7	CONTRA	1	RECRUTADOS	1	CERCAM
7	CRIME	1	PROCURA-SE	1	SOCIAL
7	CASA	1	TESTEMUNHA	1	DEGASE
7	TRÊS	1	COMPETIÇÃO	1	PERDEM
6	VIOLÊNCIA	1	REPRESÁLIA	1	ESTAVA
6	BALEADA	1	ESCONDIDAS	1	ATIROU
6	ARMAS	1	ASSASSINOS	1	VENCER
5	BALEADOS	1	ANTIBOMBAS	1	VITIMA
5	FERIDOS	1	DESASTROSA	1	OCULOS
5	FAMÍLIA	1	ARREPENDE	1	ROTINA
5	PRENDE	1	CAROBINHA	1	TERROR
5	AULAS	1	DECRETADA	1	PERITO
5	CHEFE	1	HOMENAGEM	1	POTTER
5	MATA	1	EMBOSCADA	1	CIDADÃ
5	QUER	1	SARGENTOS	1	REVELA
5	TAÇA	1	MICROFONE	1	FESTIM
5	PELA	1	RESPONDER	1	ADIADA
5	RIO	1	DIA-A-DIA	1	OPERAR
5	MIL	1	VIOLENTOS	1	DISQUE
5	DIA	1	SEPARADOS	1	DETIDO
4	MANGUEIRA	1	TABAJARAS	1	FUTURO
4	BANDIDOS	1	UTILIZADA	1	OCUPAR
4	OCUPAÇÃO	1	DISCIPULO	1	FILHOS
4	EXPULSOS	1	CONVOCADO	1	RECUOU
4	APREENDE	1	ARTISTAS	1	CHEGOU
4	GARDÊNIA	1	FRACASSOU	1	JUNTOS
4	CRUZEIRO	1	BARRICADA	1	ESPERA
4	COMPLEX	1	CONDENADO	1	TAMBÉM

O				
4	CRIANÇA	1	CAPTURADA	1 MARIDO
4	MILÍCIA	1	EXECUTADO	1 CABEÇA
4	DURANTE	1	EXCLUÍDOS	1 ENTRAR
4	MACONHA	1	AUDIÊNCIA	1 MOSTRA
4	PROPINA	1	INDICIADO	1 PÂNICO
4	MORTES	1	ABORDAGEM	1 ABALAM
4	ATAQUE	1	DENÚNCIAS	1 NOVELA
4	ALUNOS	1	ORGANIZAM	1 CURSOS
4	VÍTIMA	1	DANÇARINO	1 COBRAR
4	HOMEM	1	CONJUNTOS	1 COSTAS
4	ACUSA	1	RESGATADO	1 ORIGEM
4	ENTRE	1	LAGARTIXA	1 AVANÇA
4	NORTE	1	DESARMADO	1 OBRIGA
4	FESTA	1	FOTOGRAFO	1 MORRER
4	DUAS	1	REALIDADE	1 LIÇÕES
4	MEDO	1	ESFAQUEAR	1 LEGADO
4	BOPE	1	REFINARIA	1 PRÉDIO
4	CUFA	1	BEIRA-MAR	1 EVITAR
4	ROLA	1	ESSENCIAL	1 LEVADO
4	MÃE	1	REOCUPARÁ	1 AMIGOS
4	ATÉ	1	SEGURANÇA	1 TENSÃO
3	COMUNID ADES	1	DELEGACIA	1 CARGAS
3	ADOLESC NTE	1	CRIANÇA	1 ESTUDA
3	ASSASSIN ADO	1	ESPERANÇA	1 PRAÇAS
3	PALMEIRI NHA	1	AMPUTADOS	1 CHOQUE
3	ENTREGA DOR	1	CICLISTAS	1 ATALHO
3	CRIMINOS OS	1	GRAVAÇÕES	1 AYRTON
3	TIROTEIOS	1	COMPADRES	1 GALPÃO
3	GUADALU PE	1	TRADUZIDA	1 PASSOS
3	MORADOR ES	1	DESAFIAVA	1 PESSOA
3	SUSPEITOS	1	PROCESSAR	1 FILMOU
3	INVESTIG A	1	REDUZIREM	1 GUARDA
3	CARAMUJ O	1	EXONERADO	1 ACHADA

3	PROCESSO	1	CURRÍCULO	1	BALEAR
3	TRAGÉDIA	1	APREENDEM	1	DETONA
3	EXECUÇÃO O	1	MUNICIPAL	1	FUZUIS
3	BELTRAM E	1	MARKETING	1	PRESA
3	SERRINHA	1	SUPERAÇÃO	1	LUCAS
3	TONELAD A	1	ATINGIDAS	1	NATAL
3	PEDREIRA	1	TIROTEIRO	1	PAGAR
3	QUEIMAD O	1	PROTESTOS	1	VAGAS
3	ACUSADO S	1	IRANIANO	1	ESSES
3	EDUARDO	1	MANICURE	1	JUNTO
3	VIDIGAL	1	CAIXINHA	1	TONEL
3	JUSTIÇA	1	MERECIDA	1	AJUDA
3	GRANADA	1	ESTRELAS	1	AUTOS
3	ALIANÇA	1	CAMPEÕES	1	GOLPE
3	AGENTE	1	APLAUSOS	1	ALERJ
3	GAROTO	1	CONGONHA	1	NUNCA
3	ESCOLA	1	CAJUEIRO	1	800KG
3	PAVUNA	1	CRIANÇAS	1	FÚRIA
3	PRISÃO	1	CURICICA	1	CARGA
3	PRESOS	1	OFICIAIS	1	COSTA
3	BRIGAS	1	TRABALHA	1	ESPOR
3	CIDADE	1	ASSUSTAM	1	LUTAS
3	ÔNIBUS	1	CIRCULAR	1	SANDÁ
3	FALLET	1	CULTURAL	1	VOLTA
3	SANTA	1	MARATONA	1	EX-PM
3	MENOR	1	DELEGADO	1	NASCE
3	TROCA	1	MOCHILAS	1	PEIXE
3	OESTE	1	ENTRAVAM	1	SONHA
3	PENHA	1	BARBEIRO	1	CERCO
3	PERNA	1	FESTIVAL	1	POSSE
3	TERIA	1	PROGRAMA	1	NOITE
3	BANDO	1	ASSUSTAR	1	FALAR
3	BOREL	1	SUBURBIO	1	MÉDIA
3	MATAR	1	FORNECER	1	MENTE
3	AINDA	1	GANHARÃO	1	MORTA
3	ACARI	1	ENCONTRA	1	ALMIR
3	NOVA	1	CONJUNTO	1	SAÍDA
3	DEUS	1	NEGOCIOS	1	APOIO
3	AULA	1	EMFRENTE	1	AONDE

3	OITO	1	AMARILDO	1	ERROS
3	AÇÃO	1	TORURADO	1	MOEDA
3	VIRA	1	TENTAÇÃO	1	PRAIA
3	VIDA	1	CICLOVIA	1	USADA
3	MMA	1	PREFEREM	1	FALTA
3	AOS	1	MULHERES	1	COROA
3	DÃO	1	FACEBOOK	1	AFICO
3	VÃO	1	CUSTODIA	1	VIÚVA
3	BRT	1	CEREBRAL	1	DILMA
3	SÓ	1	EXUMAÇÃO	1	AREAS
2	TRAFICAN TES	1	MEDALHAS	1	FUZIL
2	RESISTÊN CIA	1	DISPUTAM	1	OUVIR
2	JACAREZI NHO	1	CONTINUA	1	BRAÇO
2	INFORMAÇ ÕES	1	EXECUTAR	1	REDES
2	ENCONTR ADO	1	TELEFONE	1	GENTE
2	MANGUIN HOS	1	EX-CHEFE	1	GLOBO
2	RECICLAG EM	1	ATROPELA	1	REUNE
2	TELEFERIC O	1	GRANADAS	1	LADOS
2	PROLETÁR IO	1	AMEAÇADO	1	MISSA
2	MILICIAN OS	1	MULTIDÃO	1	HARRY
2	DESTRUIC ÃO	1	MAGRELAS	1	LAUDO
2	TRAFICAN TE	1	PALANQUE	1	CRISE
2	INVESTIG AR	1	WHATSAPP	1	BÔNUS
2	MILITARE S	1	ATINGIDO	1	FONTE
2	INQUÉRIT O	1	ATINGIDA	1	SAÍDO
2	LICITAÇÃ O	1	LINCHADO	1	RENDA
2	QUADRILH A	1	ENTREGAM	1	PONTO
2	ESTUDANT E	1	INVASÕES	1	VERÃO

2	OPERAÇÕES	1	PREPARAR	1	PAVÃO
2	JURAMENTO	1	BATALHÃO	1	FOTOS
2	MADUREIRA	1	SUSPENDE	1	MOTOS
2	SARGENTO	1	POLÍCIAS	1	LISTA
2	PROMESSA	1	DISCURSO	1	PERDA
2	DENÚNCIA	1	ROUBADAS	1	ESTÃO
2	BANDEIRA	1	INFÂNCIA	1	CONTA
2	AGREDIDO	1	DESABAFAR	1	PREÇO
2	BALEADAS	1	PRESENÇA	1	PIAUI
2	INVASÃO	1	MESQUITA	1	CHUVA
2	ATAQUES	1	INAUGURA	1	BALAS
2	ABERTAS	1	SANGRAVA	1	FALHA
2	TERMINA	1	SEGURAVA	1	DRAMA
2	ASSÉDIO	1	COMÉRCIO	1	DANÇA
2	MORADOR	1	RASTREAR	1	DEDOS
2	DEIXADA	1	ESPANCAR	1	SEDIA
2	MILÍCIA	1	PROTEÇÃO	1	CARAS
2	SEGUNDO	1	HORÁRIOS	1	DESCE
2	ULTIMOS	1	CORREDOR	1	MANOS
2	ACUSADO	1	AMEAÇADA	1	MINAS
2	MILITAR	1	DESFILAM	1	AMARÉ
2	FAMÍLIA	1	EXÉRCITO	1	BOLSO
2	REVOLTA	1	DUBLADOR	1	CARRO
2	PRÓPRIA	1	DESPEDEM	1	ATRIZ
2	FACÇÕES	1	PARENTES	1	TROPA
2	COCAÍNA	1	MORADORA	1	ELITE
2	PISTOLA	1	FUZILADA	1	BARRA
2	COMEÇAR	1	AMPUTADA	1	PODER
2	MENINAS	1	EXERCITO	1	CASAS
2	FUTEBOL	1	CARNAVAL	1	DURAS
2	VIADUTO	1	CACHAMBI	1	CORTA
2	NITERÓI	1	TALENTOS	1	LOCAL
2	IMAGENS	1	CAPÍTULO	1	ANDAM
2	DEIXAM	1	CONEXÃO	1	OCUPE
2	FERIDA	1	MUQUIÇO	1	EXIBE
2	QUATRO	1	ENTERRO	1	SOMEM
2	HERÓIS	1	RODÍZIO	1	FUZIS
2	DEPOIS	1	TORCIDA	1	FECHA

2	BARROS	1	CAPITAL	1	ÁREAS
2	ISAÍAS	1	EMPRESA	1	MUDAR
2	RECEBE	1	DRIBLOU	1	CRIAM
2	MORREM	1	AUMENTO	1	FREIA
2	CRIMES	1	PODERÃO	1	ROUBO
2	MENINA	1	ATRAÍDO	1	RODOU
2	PORTAS	1	LIGAÇÃO	1	IDOSA
2	HOMENS	1	MENORES	1	BUSCA
2	MÉDICO	1	GERENTE	1	SENNA
2	ACABOU	1	EMICIDA	1	200KG
2	MORREU	1	KENNEDY	1	FICOU
2	PARQUE	1	POTENTE	1	LIMPA
2	TURANO	1	BEYONCE	1	FICHA
2	ABRIGO	1	PRISÕES	1	MOTEL
2	ADMITE	1	MUNIÇÃO	1	PERTO
2	SEMANA	1	TREINAR	1	FILHA
2	GRUPOS	1	APRENDE	1	GAMES
2	JACARÉ	1	OFICIAL	1	MIRA
2	ATINGE	1	PRAINHA	1	SEIS
2	LUCRO	1	VIDEGAL	1	JOGA
2	NOVOS	1	IPHONES	1	TIME
2	RISCO	1	PRENDEM	1	FARO
2	MAJOR	1	ESTAÇÃO	1	FICA
2	CURSO	1	GONÇALO	1	ILHA
2	FILHO	1	DOMÍNIO	1	S~ÃO
2	ENTRA	1	ESCAPAM	1	RUAN
2	FICAM	1	CAPTURA	1	SERÁ
2	VIDEO	1	ROBERTO	1	CEDO
2	CIVIL	1	ENTRAVE	1	LINS
2	LUGAR	1	ASSOCIA	1	SEAP
2	CASAL	1	MUNICAO	1	CAIU
2	FARÃO	1	ALIANÇA	1	TRES
2	ACABA	1	ENGENHO	1	OBRA
2	MINHA	1	INVADIR	1	SOME
2	MONTA	1	MARCADO	1	MÃOS
2	JORGE	1	MADONNA	1	GERA
2	TURCO	1	DECISÃO	1	VOAR
2	OCUPA	1	GUINETO	1	MODA
2	PELAS	1	GRAVADA	1	SOCO
2	SONHO	1	MACACOS	1	CASO
2	CINCO	1	DISPARO	1	VALE
2	RECUO	1	FACADAS	1	DIAS
2	JOGOS	1	RADICAL	1	SALA

2	LINHA	1	REFEITO	1	MORA
2	PEZÃO	1	NINGUÉM	1	FOME
2	VIRAM	1	AMEAÇAM	1	CAJU
2	MATOU	1	PASSADO	1	TETO
2	APURA	1	FEDERAL	1	FOGO
2	MARTA	1	PERÍCIA	1	MOTO
2	SOBRE	1	DROGRAS	1	CAIR
2	IRÃO	1	ACHADOS	1	TIDA
2	ABRE	1	SOCIAIS	1	AUTO
2	JOÃO	1	ATIRADO	1	SETE
2	MEIO	1	DIREITO	1	BEBÊ
2	SOBE	1	MICHAEL	1	ÁREA
2	BASE	1	OPOSTOS	1	SESI
2	TERÁ	1	FERIDAS	1	LOGO
2	ELAS	1	TRÁGICO	1	LUTO
2	ARMA	1	SÍMBOLO	1	CORE
2	APOS	1	DUBLAVA	1	MEUS
2	RUAS	1	DEITADA	1	SEDE
2	ALTO	1	OCORREU	1	PIPA
2	HORA	1	PAREDES	1	SEOP
2	TUDO	1	SORRISO	1	PEÇA
2	AREA	1	SEGUIDA	1	VANS
2	REDE	1	ESTOURA	1	FUNK
2	ESTÁ	1	CÂMERAS	1	ALTA
2	NAS	1	EXEMPLO	1	LADO
2	PAZ	1	VITURAS	1	CIEP
2	SOB	1	ILEGAIS	1	PEDE
2	TER	1	CERVEJA	1	PAIS
2	NUM	1	OMISSÃO	1	ALVO
1	DESAPARE CIMENTO	1	RECEBEU	1	ERRA
1	EMPREEN DEDORES	1	ARMADOS	1	FRIO
1	EXTRAOR DINÁRIA	1	PONTAPÉ	1	CABO
1	PODEROSÍ SSIMA	1	INICIAL	1	SEUS
1	SOLIDARIE DADE	1	MATARAM	1	LEVA
1	REALINHA MENTO	1	EMBARCA	1	IDA
1	INDETERM INADO	1	RESGATE	1	BEP
1	CLASSIFIC	1	CULTURA	1	PRA

ADOS					
1	JURAMEN TINHO	1	DIGITAL	1	NEM
1	SEQUESTR ADOS	1	GOVERNO	1	NOS
1	MANIFEST AÇÃO	1	REPETEM	1	SUL
1	DESAPARE CIDO	1	VIRADÃO	1	FUI
1	INVESTIG ADOS	1	CORAÇÃO	1	CPI
1	TRANSFER IDOS	1	PEDÁGIO	1	SAO
1	UNIFORMI ZADO	1	ACHADAS	1	ERA
1	REINTEGR AÇÃO	1	CHACINA	1	ÇÃO
1	AMEDRON TADOS	1	NEGOCIO	1	ELO
1	INVESTIG AÇÃO	1	NÚMEROS	1	AVO
1	ESTATÍSTI CAS	1	ATINGEM	1	RUA
1	COMPANH EIROS	1	BANDIDO	1	4TN
1	PRESENCI ARAM	1	MÍLCIA	1	24H
1	FISCALIZA ÇÃO	1	VÍTIMAS	1	LUZ
1	ESQUECIM ENTO	1	ASSUSTA	1	LEI
1	INTELIGEN CIA	1	CABRITA	1	VOZ
1	RESGATAS DAS	1	ESCOLAS	1	PAC
1	ELETRÔN COS	1	TORONTO	1	VIA
1	CABRITIN HOS	1	RECREIO	1	ANO
1	DENUNCIA DOS	1	COMEÇOU	1	VOU
1	PROVIDÊN CIA	1	CORONEL	1	HIP
1	DIVERGEN TES	1	MINEIRA	1	HOP
1	DEPOIMEN TOS	1	PENSAVA	1	SUA

1	INVESTIG ADO	1	ADAPTAR	1	SAI
1	SUSTENTÁ VEL	1	JULIANA	1	PAN
1	CONDOMI NIOS	1	PROIBIR	1	WEB
1	INTOXICA ÇÃO	1	COMANDO	1	ÀS
1	CENARIO	1	MINUTOS	1	LÁ
1	PARADA	1	LIXEIRA	1	JÁ
1	ATIRAM	1	DESFILA		

APPENDIX 5 – MATERIAL COLLECTED FROM VOZ DA COMUNIDADE’S PAGE ON FACEBOOK
([HTTPS://WWW.FACEBOOK.COM/VOZDASCOMUNIDADES/](https://www.facebook.com/vozdascmunidades/))

Date	Post_Link	Category	Tone	Media
2015-12-31T20:59:52	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1035431483194832/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-12-31T20:48:36	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1035426953195285/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-12-31T14:29:40	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascmunidades/videos/1035209923216988/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Video
2015-12-31T08:29:22	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascmunidades/videos/1035071179897529/	General	Neutral	Video
2015-12-30T00:49:36	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1034266189978028/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-12-27T20:15:49	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1032952523442728/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-12-27T01:08:06	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascmunidades/videos/1032547863483194/	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-12-26T18:26:39	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascmunidades/videos/1032421236829190/	Status Update	Neutral	Video
2015-12-25T06:20:06	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1031577610246	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo

	886/			
2015-12-25T03:01:22	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1031510690253578/	Social Inequality	Positive	Photo
2015-12-25T02:03:11	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1031492800255367/	Status Update	Neutral	Photo
2015-12-24T21:57:26	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1031377450266902/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-12-23T21:31:20	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1030800610324586/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-12-23T08:45:36	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1030402873697693/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-12-23T02:10:13	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1030030450401602/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-12-22T21:55:37	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1029882577083056/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-12-21T15:35:14	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1028890997182214/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-12-20T23:34:08	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/1028390597232254/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Video
2015-12-20T12:16:19	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1028084163929564/	Status Update	Neutral	Photo
2015-12-20T11:21:27	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/1028059030598744/	Status Update	Positive	Video
2015-12-19T18:52:13	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1027710023966978/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-12-19T13:41:32	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1027557477315566/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-12-19T00:06:58	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1027267497344564/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-12-18T20:52:57	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1027207874017	Violence	Negative	Photo

	<u>193/</u>			
2015-12-18T19:54:33	<u>https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/1027188417352472/</u>	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-12-18T10:29:27	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1026954537375860/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-12-17T08:09:19	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1026392764098704/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-12-16T10:02:10	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1025893457481968/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-12-15T16:30:41	<u>https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/1025478007523513/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Video
2015-12-15T08:03:57	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1025305684207412/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-12-13T14:44:40	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1024438120960835/</u>	General	Negative	Photo
2015-12-13T13:08:01	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1024405130964134/</u>	Status Update	Neutral	Photo
2015-12-13T11:20:58	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1024218194316161/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-12-12T14:55:57	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1023941027677211/</u>	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-12-12T13:30:14	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1023900754347905/</u>	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-12-12T13:22:57	<u>https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/1023897097681604/</u>	Culture	Positive	Video
2015-12-11T19:12:55	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1023543717716942/</u>	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-12-10T20:53:30	<u>https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/1023105967760717/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Video
2015-12-07T17:59:00	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1021215281283/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo

	<u>119/</u>			
2015-12-07T13:58:11	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1021111431293504/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-12-06T20:46:41	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1020802174657763/</u>	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-12-04T22:16:58	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1019698108101503/</u>	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-12-03T16:43:35	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1019044648166849/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-12-03T14:50:58	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1019003391504308/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-11-30T18:28:47	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1017396494998331/</u>	General	Negative	Photo
2015-11-30T13:38:30	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1017284771676170/</u>	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-11-28T19:07:54	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1016447551759892/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-11-28T13:25:32	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1016298568441457/</u>	General	Positive	Photo
2015-11-28T01:05:12	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1016061778465136/</u>	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-11-27T14:21:54	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1015824748488839/</u>	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-11-26T23:28:48	<u>https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/1015508151853832/</u>	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-11-26T22:15:05	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1015483265189654/</u>	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-11-26T19:43:37	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1015421928529121/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-11-26T19:19:27	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1015413558529/</u>	Culture	Positive	Photo

	<u>958/</u>			
2015-11-26T18:24:00	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1015393265198654/</u>	General	Positive	Photo
2015-11-26T05:54:04	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1015100845227896/</u>	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-11-25T13:50:28	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1014779961926651/</u>	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-11-23T08:18:14	<u>https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/1013634658707848/</u>	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-11-20T16:09:20	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1012461932158454/</u>	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-11-19T18:17:32	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1012045642200083/</u>	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-11-19T12:56:42	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1011878365550144/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-11-19T02:34:02	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1011701948901119/</u>	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-11-17T21:55:30	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1011192275618753/</u>	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-11-15T20:57:19	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1010258799045434/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-11-15T16:04:15	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1010124725725508/</u>	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-11-14T14:11:07	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1009564112448236/</u>	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-11-12T22:53:49	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1008722659199048/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-11-11T15:00:19	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1008029392601708/</u>	General	Positive	Photo
2015-11-10T23:49:39	<u>https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1007764465961534/</u>	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo

2015-11-10T19:54:47	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1007684725969508/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-11-10T19:32:09	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1007677889303525/	Government Actions	Negative	Photo
2015-11-08T23:54:27	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1006552972749350/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-11-07T19:34:51	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1006005159470798/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-11-07T14:05:39	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1005877746150206/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-11-06T21:54:00	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1005476572856990/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-11-05T20:35:58	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/1004888596249121/	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-11-04T01:25:33	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1004119269659387/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-11-03T13:25:58	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1003858869685427/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-11-02T21:18:16	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1003593033045344/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-11-02T13:06:14	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1003394533065194/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-11-01T18:13:15	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1003037036434277/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-11-01T14:13:34	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1002949939776320/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-10-31T19:18:03	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1002601613144486/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-31T19:02:45	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1002590793145568/	Culture	Positive	Photo

2015-10-31T16:26:37	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1002537533150894/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-31T16:00:35	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1002527159818598/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-31T15:12:55	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1002509256487055/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-31T14:07:55	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1002482919823022/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-31T10:32:13	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1002413889829925/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-30T22:36:54	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1002204696517511/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-30T18:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1002065403198107/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-29T22:51:27	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1001731226564858/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-10-29T12:25:34	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1001514969919817/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-10-29T10:44:11	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1001485799922734/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-10-26T18:37:24	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1000270053377642/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-10-26T14:34:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1000168703387777/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-23T21:11:50	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/998786046859376/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Video
2015-10-23T15:09:36	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/998655693539078/	General	Neutral	Video
2015-10-21T15:05:11	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/997758490295465/	General	Positive	Video

2015-10-20T22:15:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/997397603664887/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-10-20T20:43:07	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/997430283661619/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-10-20T20:30:00	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/997391263665521/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-10-20T19:43:28	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/997406090330705/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-10-20T19:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/997380483666599/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-10-20T13:40:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/997270367010944/	Status Update	Neutral	Photo
2015-10-20T13:33:35	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/997244007013580/	Social Inequality	Negative	Video
2015-10-20T02:53:17	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/997088513695796/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-10-20T02:50:53	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/997087210362593/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-10-18T22:04:02	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/996577903746857/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-10-18T17:24:52	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/996477710423543/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-10-18T16:50:43	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/996465677091413/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-10-16T15:50:32	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/995472180524096/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-10-15T15:36:54	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/995023573902290/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-15T15:30:27	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/995021850569129/	Culture	Positive	Photo

2015-10-15T00:26:48	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/994733800597934/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-14T20:53:04	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/994674273937220/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-14T12:40:34	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/994501950621119/	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-10-14T08:38:23	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/994435510627763/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-10-12T22:58:21	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/993551514049496/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-08T15:14:50	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/991410760930238/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-08T00:42:46	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/991173240953990/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-10-07T17:15:20	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/991037654300882/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-07T10:24:57	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/990890117648969/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-10-06T13:53:36	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/990509681020346/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-10-06T02:30:38	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/990294267708554/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-10-01T13:33:10	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/988134044591243/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-09-30T14:08:29	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/987672267970754/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-09-30T00:38:12	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/987422847995696/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-29T23:31:15	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/987403557997625/	Culture	Positive	Photo

2015-09-29T18:18:18	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/987280894676558/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-26T14:55:00	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/985762621495052/	Culture	Positive	Video
2015-09-26T14:41:07	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/985758931495421/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-25T19:10:28	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/985437611527553/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-09-24T17:29:08	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/984952804909367/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-05T13:00:32	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/1055970854474228/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-23T19:07:48	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/984556148282366/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-23T13:25:16	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/984422994962348/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-09-22T16:28:19	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/983993301671984/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-21T21:01:42	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/983356505068997/	Status Update	Neutral	Photo
2015-09-21T20:30:35	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/983346025070045/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-21T12:37:02	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/983089945095653/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-09-20T13:49:30	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/982489031822411/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-09-19T19:54:05	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/982064505198197/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-18T19:56:54	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/981390668598914/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo

2015-09-18T19:23:37	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/981374225267225/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-09-17T05:53:12	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/980347738703207/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-09-16T14:26:20	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/979967748741206/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-09-15T23:29:36	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/979657895438858/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-15T18:00:38	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/979527572118557/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-15T09:50:25	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/979322575472390/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-09-15T01:39:13	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/979170588820922/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-09-13T19:44:36	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/978110378926943/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-13T12:16:18	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/977813088956672/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-13T01:39:35	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/977547682316546/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-09-12T18:38:35	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/977340719003909/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-12T14:21:04	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/977189109019070/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-09-11T21:26:16	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/976821662389148/	General	Negative	Photo
2015-09-10T00:33:31	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/975845405820107/	Culture	Positive	Video
2015-09-06T23:26:33	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/974051129332868/	Culture	Positive	Photo

2015-09-06T22:17:40	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/974035456001102/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-06T22:08:16	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/974032596001388/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-06T21:17:57	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/974008939337087/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-06T21:13:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/974007249337256/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-06T20:59:08	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/974000999337881/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-06T20:56:55	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/974000389337942/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-06T19:56:48	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/973973766007271/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-06T00:51:29	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/973549822716332/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-06T00:37:42	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/973547162716598/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-05T22:49:42	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/973520182719296/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-05T21:55:27	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/973504659387515/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-05T21:02:20	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/973485066056141/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-05T20:43:32	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/973479159390065/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-05T20:32:27	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/973473006057347/	Culture	Positive	Video
2015-09-05T19:15:20	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/973444469393534/	Culture	Positive	Photo

2015-09-05T15:25:26	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/973344776070170/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-05T11:45:11	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/973242059413775/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-03T01:31:47	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/971980379539943/	General	Negative	Video
2015-09-03T00:47:13	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/971966686207979/	General	Negative	Video
2015-09-03T00:34:40	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/971964049541576/	General	Negative	Photo
2015-09-01T16:56:11	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/971295189608462/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-09-01T14:55:20	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/971246659613315/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-09-01T10:44:07	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/971144412956873/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-09-01T02:23:28	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/970972652974049/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-08-30T09:35:26	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/969922533079061/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-08-29T15:01:58	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/969546759783305/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-08-29T14:48:41	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/969535696451078/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-08-27T01:07:10	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/968229269915054/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-08-26T14:03:44	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/967961709941810/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-08-25T18:07:07	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/967398559998125/	Culture	Positive	Photo

2015-08-24T22:09:04	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/967001633371151/	Culture	Positive	Video
2015-08-24T16:53:18	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/966896703381644/	Life In The Favelas	Neutral	Photo
2015-08-22T13:32:20	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/965714553499859/	Life In The Favelas	Neutral	Photo
2015-08-22T11:00:09	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/965595720178409/	Life In The Favelas	Neutral	Photo
2015-08-21T18:27:59	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/965348203536494/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-08-19T19:11:47	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/964349483636366/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Video
2015-08-19T18:12:39	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/964321586972489/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-08-18T17:55:40	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/963723640365617/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-08-18T09:55:29	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/963562797048368/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-08-17T22:30:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/963272150410766/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-08-17T20:28:44	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/963266943744620/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-08-16T01:28:15	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/962266040511377/	Status Update	Positive	Video
2015-08-16T01:21:19	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/962262787178369/	Status Update	Positive	Video
2015-08-16T00:29:31	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/962243953846919/	Status Update	Positive	Video
2015-08-16T00:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/962208887183759/	Culture		Photo

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2015-08-15T23:22:24	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/962220590515922/	Status Update	Positive	Video
2015-08-15T23:14:09	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/962217830516198/	Status Update	Positive	Video
2015-08-15T21:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/962175273853787/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-08-15T20:02:56	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/962165443854770/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-08-15T03:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/961646953906619/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-08-14T19:52:56	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/961541190583862/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-08-14T18:58:11	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/961512127253435/	Social Inequality	Negative	Video
2015-08-14T00:20:30	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/961043170633664/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-08-13T09:49:47	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/960742743997040/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-08-12T22:03:55	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/960542990683682/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-08-12T22:00:57	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/960543104017004/	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-08-12T21:07:08	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/960526240685357/	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-08-12T20:46:16	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/960520724019242/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-08-12T20:29:53	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/960514740686507/	Culture	Positive	Photo

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2015-08-07T17:58:29	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/957934824277832/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-08-07T02:57:22	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/957642360973745/	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-08-07T01:58:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/957614854309829/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-08-06T17:31:50	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/957430384328276/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-08-03T11:33:05	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/955774731160508/	Social Inequality	Positive	Photo
2015-08-03T00:30:00	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/955571111180870/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-07-31T23:28:32	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/954501951287786/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-07-27T00:52:35	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/951664124904902/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-07-27T00:43:09	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/951661278238520/	Culture	Positive	Photo
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2015-07-26T20:44:56	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/951592964912018/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-07-26T20:41:06	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/951591768245471/	Culture	Positive	Photo
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2015-07-25T22:03:00	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/951119564959358/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-07-25T21:37:07	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/951112478293400/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-07-25T20:55:30	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/951100948294553/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-07-25T19:57:19	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/951075024963812/	Culture	Positive	Video
2015-07-25T18:56:06	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/951060624965252/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-07-25T08:17:17	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/950702605001054/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-07-24T12:55:08	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/950158758388772/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-07-23T16:16:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/949753948429253/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-07-23T16:14:38	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/949753678429280/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-07-23T15:01:59	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/949717458432902/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-07-23T11:11:22	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/949628761775105/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
2015-07-22T20:44:51	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/949292098475438/	Culture	Positive	Photo

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2015-07-22T10:39:14	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/948908975180417/	Status Update	Positive	Photo
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2015-07-18T20:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/946401878764460/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-07-18T16:30:44	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/946375702100411/	Culture	Positive	Photo
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2015-07-15T23:44:30	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/944681662269815/	General	Neutral	Photo
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2015-07-15T19:30:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/944583938946254/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-07-15T19:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/944563248948323/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-07-15T16:07:18	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/944513965619918/	Culture	Positive	Photo

2015-07-14T20:53:40	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/944041332333848/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-07-14T15:24:19	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/943939045677410/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-07-14T14:10:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/943913682346613/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-07-14T10:10:31	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/942769602461021/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-07-14T00:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/943493749055273/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-07-10T17:05:16	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/941882472549734/	General	Negative	Video
2015-07-10T16:56:55	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/941879622550019/	General	Negative	Photo
2015-07-09T22:30:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/941498479254800/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-07-09T20:10:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/941491272588854/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-07-09T14:58:44	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/941396362598345/	Government Actions	Negative	Photo
2015-07-08T03:24:04	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/940736882664293/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-07-08T01:25:02	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/940701066001208/	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-07-07T23:34:47	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/940671859337462/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-07-07T16:43:31	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/940509509353697/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-07-06T03:12:43	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/939602209444427/	Violence	Negative	Video

2015-07-03T21:33:18	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/938155666255748/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-07-03T14:20:40	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/937977179606930/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-07-03T00:27:06	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/937697866301528/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-07-02T10:56:55	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/937447532993228/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-07-02T10:53:36	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/937446716326643/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-07-02T04:30:48	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/937325709672077/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-06-30T19:18:26	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/936485503089431/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-06-30T03:05:32	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/936177486453566/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-06-30T00:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/936107286460586/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-06-29T23:20:55	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/936106903127291/	Government Actions	Negative	Video
2015-06-29T00:10:31	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/935621023175879/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-06-27T02:23:46	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/934669559937692/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-06-26T21:12:35	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/934571949947453/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-06-26T12:20:45	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/934380513299930/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-06-25T15:59:05	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/934028793335102/	Life In The Favelas	Neutral	Photo

2015-06-24T23:00:03	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/933670933370888/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-06-24T22:01:08	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/933690803368901/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-06-24T21:01:18	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/933671903370791/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-06-23T02:00:59	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/932618800142768/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-06-23T01:00:50	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/932598750144773/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-06-23T00:01:16	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/932572736814041/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-06-22T23:01:03	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/932554916815823/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-06-22T19:18:21	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/932370360167612/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-06-22T18:00:05	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/932313800173268/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-06-19T22:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/930858533652128/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-06-17T17:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/929725967098718/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-06-16T14:41:50	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/929449470459701/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-06-15T22:39:29	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/929120673825914/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-06-15T01:06:31	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/928734110531237/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-06-13T17:30:08	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/928042620600386/	General	Neutral	Photo

2015-06-12T23:39:42	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/927731217298193/	General	Positive	Video
2015-06-12T22:22:51	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/927680027303312/	Culture	Positive	Video
2015-06-10T23:25:29	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/926784190726229/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-06-10T22:36:18	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/926771464060835/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-06-10T18:14:16	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/926660040738644/	Culture	Positive	Video
2015-06-10T15:00:02	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/926571210747527/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-06-10T13:41:16	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/926530874084894/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-06-10T11:24:44	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/926389120765736/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-06-09T20:05:34	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/925862394151742/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-06-09T01:04:44	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/925297794208202/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Video
2015-06-08T19:43:28	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/925066357564679/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-06-08T02:10:13	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/924605574277424/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-06-07T01:41:03	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/922739134464068/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-06-06T15:07:06	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/921771814560800/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-06-02T01:52:45	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/913620125375969/	Culture	Positive	Photo

2015-06-02T00:00:43	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/913473245390657/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-06-01T20:30:14	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/913464645391517/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-06-01T15:14:25	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/913233928747922/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-06-01T01:27:22	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/912820612122587/	Culture	Positive	Video
2015-05-30T22:35:27	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/912117015526280/	General	Negative	Photo
2015-05-30T15:32:08	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/911848535553128/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-05-27T22:37:58	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/910558722348776/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-05-23T22:07:54	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/908166979254617/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-05-23T14:43:28	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/908031105934871/	Social Inequality	Positive	Photo
2015-05-23T14:07:29	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/908012705936711/	Social Inequality	Positive	Photo
2015-05-23T14:01:56	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/908010935936888/	Social Inequality	Positive	Photo
2015-05-22T11:03:41	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/907557332648915/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-05-21T15:18:17	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/907185839352731/	Social Inequality	Positive	Photo
2015-05-21T01:00:46	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/906924142712234/	Favelas History	Positive	Photo
2015-05-21T00:00:56	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/906907469380568/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo

2015-05-20T23:00:58	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/906883549382960/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-05-20T22:35:26	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/906869516051030/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-05-19T17:38:36	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/906420526095929/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-05-18T22:42:39	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/906081172796531/	Government Actions	Positive	Photo
2015-05-18T07:50:24	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/905770109494304/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-05-16T13:23:50	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/904873592917289/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-05-16T12:02:41	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/904845566253425/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-05-15T10:44:17	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/904393719631943/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-05-14T19:33:16	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/904132539658061/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-05-14T18:00:56	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/903789236359058/	Government Actions	Positive	Photo
2015-05-14T04:03:30	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/903809039690411/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-05-11T15:26:34	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/902734246464557/	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-05-11T04:42:31	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/902534336484548/	Culture	Positive	Video
2015-05-11T02:59:39	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/902501406487841/	Social Inequality	Negative	Video
2015-05-10T18:24:44	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/902357643168884/	General	Positive	Video

2015-05-09T07:24:46	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/901796143225034/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-05-08T19:26:08	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/901617529909562/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-05-08T18:10:40	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/901590759912239/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-05-05T22:46:09	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/900479446690037/	Social Inequality	Negative	Video
2015-05-05T19:47:19	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/900440570027258/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-05-05T14:27:46	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/900333250037990/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-05-04T21:55:51	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/900057483398900/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-05-04T11:31:33	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/899791196758862/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-05-03T22:27:02	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/898746313530017/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-05-01T23:48:49	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/897950596942922/	General	Neutral	Video
2015-05-01T20:20:56	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/897879690283346/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-05-01T16:16:44	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/897802423624406/	General	Neutral	Video
2015-05-01T15:58:17	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/897796190291696/	General	Neutral	Video
2015-04-30T22:45:50	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/897523960318919/	General	Neutral	Video
2015-04-30T22:00:07	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/897503576987624/	Culture	Positive	Photo

2015-04-30T19:56:41	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/897454473659201/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-04-30T13:54:44	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/897309107007071/	General	Negative	Photo
2015-04-26T14:58:17	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/895170607220921/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-04-25T23:23:17	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/894847960586519/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-04-24T19:09:18	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/894151480656167/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-04-24T14:30:27	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/894034264001222/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-04-24T12:06:24	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/893979467340035/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-04-21T20:23:25	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/892405554164093/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-04-21T01:57:09	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/891950110876304/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-04-21T00:20:04	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/891919294212719/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Video
2015-04-20T21:37:44	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/891859450885370/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-04-18T20:35:58	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/890618967676085/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-04-17T15:35:56	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/889876147750367/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-04-17T00:15:37	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/889485491122766/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-04-17T00:00:02	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/889481791123136/	Government Actions	Positive	Photo

2015-04-16T23:30:02	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/889471387790843/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-04-16T22:30:02	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/889456577792324/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-04-11T11:00:59	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/886653744739274/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-04-10T19:29:48	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/886316068106375/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-04-10T12:35:52	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/886138281457487/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-04-07T14:18:52	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/884562214948427/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-04-06T22:38:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/884252108312771/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-04-05T17:18:32	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/883544505050198/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-04-05T15:28:04	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/883491821722133/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-04-04T16:29:38	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/883009805103668/	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-04-04T15:42:44	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/882986825105966/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-04-04T13:45:43	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/882930108444971/	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-04-04T13:38:47	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/882929028445079/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-04-04T13:15:55	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/882919008446081/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-04-04T13:02:35	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/882915168446465/	Culture	Positive	Photo

2015-04-04T12:46:16	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/882909021780413/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-04-03T19:49:59	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/882424141828901/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-04-03T18:54:14	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/882387058499276/	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-04-03T18:49:11	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/882386321832683/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-04-03T01:37:41	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/881920001879315/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-04-02T15:43:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/881703288567653/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-04-01T21:26:14	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/881335588604423/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-03-31T17:00:05	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/880590548678927/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-03-30T21:49:22	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/880229085381740/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-03-30T13:41:25	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/880022792069036/	Social Inequality	Negative	Video
2015-03-30T09:17:36	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/879937232077592/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-03-28T18:07:47	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/879037912167524/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-03-27T22:00:10	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/878608008877181/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-03-25T19:14:21	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/877543278983654/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-03-25T18:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/877518238986158/	Culture	Positive	Photo

2015-03-23T15:19:10	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/876360029101979/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-03-22T22:25:39	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/875983865806262/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-03-21T17:10:04	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/875306382540677/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-03-20T20:28:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/874807085923940/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-03-20T17:15:12	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/874739275930721/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-03-19T16:40:04	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/874153962655919/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-03-19T12:47:57	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/874041449333837/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-03-18T02:00:02	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/873183522752963/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-03-17T20:42:02	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/873067866097862/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-03-17T15:40:23	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/872892549448727/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-03-16T23:30:16	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/872427272828588/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-03-14T14:21:47	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/871121826292466/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-03-12T21:45:41	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/870254003045915/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-03-12T21:44:35	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/870253776379271/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-03-11T20:48:48	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/869691626435486/	Violence	Negative	Photo

2015-03-11T00:58:36	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/869260793145236/	Government Actions	Positive	Photo
2015-03-10T15:13:30	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/869053576499291/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-03-09T00:07:33	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/868169653254350/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-03-08T12:18:38	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/867862863285029/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-03-07T19:32:32	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/867539559984026/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-03-07T14:37:47	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/867397729998209/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-03-07T00:24:43	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/867122670025715/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-03-06T22:19:46	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/867070523364263/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-03-02T23:57:53	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/864344370303545/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-03-02T22:18:07	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/864307453640570/	Violence	Negative	Photo
2015-03-02T19:44:38	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/864242236980425/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-03-02T19:27:04	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/864232723648043/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-02-28T20:18:50	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/863215843749731/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-02-28T11:00:04	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/863010933770222/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-02-28T04:50:28	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/862926330445349/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo

2015-02-27T10:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/862547577149891/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-02-26T10:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/862025377202111/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-02-24T14:42:21	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/861161593955156/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-02-20T13:44:12	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/858970447507604/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-02-20T10:24:02	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/858880340849948/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-02-19T19:31:46	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/858608220877160/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-02-17T12:41:07	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/857202557684393/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-02-17T08:50:33	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/857130044358311/	General	Negative	Video
2015-02-17T08:37:28	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/857125704358745/	General	Negative	Video
2015-02-17T06:52:04	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/857097101028272/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-17T05:50:21	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/857083167696332/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-17T05:30:00	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/857078507696798/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-17T04:56:57	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/857071251030857/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-17T01:55:39	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/857014347703214/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-16T21:42:37	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/856931351044847/	Culture	Positive	Photo

2015-02-16T20:18:31	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/856899784381337/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-02-16T15:24:19	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/856788867725762/	General	Negative	Photo
2015-02-16T14:54:31	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/856777274393588/	General	Negative	Photo
2015-02-16T04:27:47	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/856565354414780/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-16T03:47:48	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/856555504415765/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-16T03:08:18	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/856543114417004/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-16T02:02:29	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/856522181085764/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-15T01:55:42	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/856029367801712/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-13T23:20:04	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/855478087856840/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-11T22:42:48	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/854481864623129/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-02-10T23:47:50	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/854051514666164/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-02-08T20:38:39	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/852976118107037/	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-02-08T12:36:41	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/852759121462070/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-02-06T20:56:16	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/851928841545098/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-02-06T17:26:32	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/851842818220367/	General	Positive	Photo

2015-02-06T13:52:18	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/851761511561831/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-02-06T00:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/851495391588443/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-02-05T23:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/851479324923383/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-02-05T22:40:16	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/851472978257351/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-05T21:00:02	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/851436311594351/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-02-05T20:36:33	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/851428828261766/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-05T20:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/851411584930157/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-02-05T18:00:02	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/851360244935291/	Culture	Negative	Photo
2015-02-05T15:34:14	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/851297811608201/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-02-04T18:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/850858561652126/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-04T17:30:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/850845908320058/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-02-04T16:07:23	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/850811214990194/	Life In The Favelas	Neutral	Photo
2015-02-04T11:11:31	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/850684271669555/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-02-02T15:08:34	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/849687058435943/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-02-01T01:20:02	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/847421095329206/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo

2015-01-31T20:40:21	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/847333228671326/	General	Positive	Photo
2015-01-31T20:37:18	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/847332385338077/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-01-31T13:46:19	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/847152365356079/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-01-30T14:08:42	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/846514162086566/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-01-30T12:21:56	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/846385175432798/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-01-28T17:56:47	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/845472035524112/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-01-27T22:12:25	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/845096092228373/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-01-26T10:01:00	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/844315332306449/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-01-25T13:18:35	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/843754242362558/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-01-24T01:01:10	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/842998545771461/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-01-22T14:43:45	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/842238369180812/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-01-22T04:02:27	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/841992082538774/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-01-20T22:54:59	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/841399922597990/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-01-19T11:37:12	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/840633849341264/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-01-18T11:51:11	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/840055326065783/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo

2015-01-18T01:58:16	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/839849816086334/	Culture	Positive	Video
2015-01-18T01:12:28	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/839816426089673/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-01-17T14:17:21	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/839580272779955/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-01-16T22:06:05	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/839276336143682/	Life In The Favelas	Negative	Photo
2015-01-16T10:08:30	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/838982146173101/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-01-15T20:54:29	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/838677026203613/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-01-14T22:20:34	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/838174222920560/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-01-14T20:49:19	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/838142999590349/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-01-13T22:08:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/837693472968635/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-01-10T22:42:26	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/836187499785899/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-01-10T22:33:02	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/836184569786192/	Culture	Positive	Photo
2015-01-09T12:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/835420373195945/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-01-09T10:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/835377959866853/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-01-09T01:19:15	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/835203503217632/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-01-08T23:30:00	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/835174163220566/	Culture	Positive	Photo

2015-01-08T21:14:20	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/835111413226841/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-01-08T21:04:01	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/835094846561831/	Life In The Favelas	Positive	Photo
2015-01-06T10:34:17	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/832504986820817/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-01-06T10:29:21	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/832495406821775/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-01-04T01:47:20	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/830695950335054/	Social Inequality	Negative	Photo
2015-01-03T17:11:41	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/830492393688743/	Violence	Negative	Video
2015-01-02T22:54:47	https://www.facebook.com/139008266170496/posts/829996557071660/	General	Neutral	Photo
2015-01-01T18:46:01	https://www.facebook.com/Vozdascomunidades/videos/829041627167153/	General	Positive	Video

APPENDIX 6 – MATERIAL COLLECTED FROM COLETIVO PAPO RETO’S PAGE ON FACEBOOK

(<https://www.facebook.com/COLETIVOPAPORETO/>)

Date	post_link	Categories	Tone	Media
2015-12-31T21:45:16	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/809901675803080/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-12-31T21:44:40	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/809901102469804/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-12-31T21:34:25	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/809895249137056/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-12-31T21:33:33	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/809894982470416/	Police violence	Negative	photo

2015-12-31T02:26:29	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/809291205864127/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-12-30T22:25:03	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/809220259204555/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-12-30T18:00:40	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/809083902551524/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-12-30T14:41:02	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/808841859242395/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-12-28T18:26:54	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/807744906018757/	Police violence	Negative	link
2015-12-27T02:13:20	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/806819916111256/	Police violence		photo
2015-12-25T23:58:50	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/806116666181581/		Negative	link
2015-12-24T20:27:24	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/805276516265596/	Life in the favelas	Positive	video
2015-12-23T21:08:39	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/804700266323221/	Life in the favelas	Positive	link
2015-12-23T11:59:34	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/804476776345570/	General	Positive	link
2015-12-23T11:45:57	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/804473243012590/	General	Negative	photo
2015-12-21T13:21:35	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/803366253123289/	Social inequality	Negative	photo
2015-12-19T20:17:30	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/802456119880969/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-12-19T11:20:24	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/802249999901581/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-12-12T18:58:19	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/799178516875396/			link

2015-12-10T19:01:54	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/798220726971175/	Violence	Negative	link
2015-12-09T13:20:39	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/797598650366716/	Favelas history	Positive	photo
2015-12-04T15:43:14	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/795449273914987/	Violence	Negative	link
2015-12-03T21:25:52	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/795044087288839/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-12-03T20:25:58	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/795026340623947/	Life in the favelas	Negative	photo
2015-12-03T19:51:12	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/795015660625015/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-12-03T19:28:10	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/795008700625711/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-12-03T17:06:52	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/794959870630594/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-12-02T13:02:52	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/794447860681795/	Social inequality	Negative	video
2015-12-01T14:24:46	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/794058264054088/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-11-30T16:03:15	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/793677880758793/	Social inequality	Negative	link
2015-11-30T13:58:36	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/793636747429573/	General	Positive	photo
2015-11-30T00:09:12	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/793385110788070/	General	Positive	link
2015-11-29T17:23:44	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/793252067468041/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-11-28T12:30:01	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/791922340934347/	Life in the favelas	Negative	photo

2015-11-28T00:09:31	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/792549180871663/	Government actions	Negative	photo
2015-11-27T19:18:37	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/792463164213598/	Life in the favelas	Positive	status
2015-11-27T14:44:19	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/792341277559120/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-11-26T23:29:47	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/792069274252987/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-11-25T20:28:37	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/791558307637417/	General	Positive	status
2015-11-25T17:05:22	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/791473934312521/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-11-25T16:35:07	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/791463830980198/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-11-24T21:30:49	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/791072407686007/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-11-24T21:17:42	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/791069417686306/	Violence	Negative	status
2015-11-24T19:29:02	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/791037171022864/	Social inequality	Negative	status
2015-11-24T18:34:43	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/791022484357666/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-11-23T16:56:55	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/790567894403125/	General	Negative	photo
2015-11-23T12:12:02	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/790490697744178/	Violence	Negative	status
2015-11-23T01:16:42	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/790276694432245/	General	Positive	photo
2015-11-20T11:25:25	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/789100804549834/	General	Positive	photo

2015-11-18T17:46:25	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/788462904613624/	General	Positive	photo
2015-11-18T17:25:46	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/788455337947714/	General	Positive	photo
2015-11-18T17:17:52	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/788453617947886/	General	Positive	link
2015-11-16T21:46:04	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/787645334695381/	Police violence	Negative	link
2015-11-15T11:48:44	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/787074361419145/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-11-14T17:48:59	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/786772408116007/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-11-13T18:09:16	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/786374591489122/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-11-13T12:10:12	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/786077344852180/	General	Positive	photo
2015-11-13T10:25:47	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/786205164839398/	General	Positive	video
2015-11-12T12:07:28	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/785860084873906/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-11-06T20:11:14	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/783369638456284/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-11-06T13:50:44	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/783241575135757/	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-11-06T12:34:34	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/783221918471056/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-11-06T12:19:03	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/783217858471462/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-11-05T21:36:10	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/782970021829579/	Violence	Negative	photo

2015-11-05T21:25:59	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/782967911829790/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-11-04T19:25:56	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/782558135204101/	General	Negative	link
2015-11-03T23:14:14	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/782234331903148/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-11-02T16:44:55	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/781705875289327/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-10-30T17:35:09	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/780483992078182/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-10-30T12:00:32	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/780212612105320/	Government actions	Negative	photo
2015-10-25T14:51:17	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/778303992296182/	General	Positive	video
2015-10-23T17:36:36	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/777417202384861/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-23T15:24:58	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/777360232390558/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-23T01:27:11	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/777117759081472/	General	Negative	status
2015-10-22T15:39:26	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/776937175766197/	Life in the favelas	Negative	photo
2015-10-22T15:35:18	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/776934812433100/	Social inequality	Negative	photo
2015-10-22T13:09:12	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/776875469105701/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-10-14T23:28:22	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/773517922774789/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-10-14T22:27:06	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/773502316109683/	Culture	Positive	photo

2015-10-14T20:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/772820566177858/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-14T12:49:20	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/773197072806874/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-10-14T12:05:52	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/773183039474944/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-10-14T11:06:12	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/773166216143293/	Violence	Negative	status
2015-10-12T22:08:05	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/772452082881373/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-12T20:55:47	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/772424969550751/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-12T20:55:46	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/772424992884082/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-12T20:38:47	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/772420389551209/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-12T19:52:46	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/772404476219467/	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-10-12T19:46:16	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/772402779552970/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-12T18:44:01	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/772375429555705/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-12T00:24:14	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/771974422929139/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-09T20:55:16	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/770958049697443/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-08T16:45:43	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/770402489752999/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-10-08T15:50:28	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/770381626421752/	Police violence	Negative	photo

2015-10-07T23:38:20	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/770045649788683/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-06T19:41:15	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/769447986515116/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-05T02:14:48	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/768428956617019/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-10-05T00:12:21	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/768408549952393/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-10-04T15:53:10	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/768216229971625/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-04T15:29:25	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/768203679972880/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-04T13:50:41	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/768151496644765/	Social inequality	Negative	status
2015-10-04T13:46:57	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/768149656644949/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-10-03T22:35:01	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/767835136676401/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-10-02T19:27:05	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/767386976721217/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-10-02T18:22:50	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/767361333390448/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-10-01T14:26:57	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/766871343439447/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-10-01T13:25:58	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/766851076774807/	Violence	Positive	status
2015-10-01T12:32:37	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/766834943443087/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-10-01T12:04:03	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/766827363443845/	Violence	Negative	photo

2015-09-30T22:48:29	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/766590680134180/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-09-30T20:28:45	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/766549816804933/	General	Positive	photo
2015-09-30T20:16:55	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/766546586805256/	Life in the favelas	Negative	photo
2015-09-30T16:20:53	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/766430333483548/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-09-30T14:28:19	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/766383720154876/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-09-30T14:11:18	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/766368766823038/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-09-30T14:07:39	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/766365313490050/	Violence	Negative	status
2015-09-30T13:08:49	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/766344750158773/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-09-29T00:32:49	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/765682263558355/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-09-27T22:58:36	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/765229983603583/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-09-26T19:47:48	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/764723366987578/	General	Positive	status
2015-09-26T18:59:25	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/764712063655375/	General	Positive	photo
2015-09-26T17:48:17	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/764689713657610/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-09-26T12:26:36	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/764558613670720/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-09-26T05:52:34	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/764472653679316/	Police violence	Negative	status

2015-09-26T03:42:07	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/764444313682150/	General	Positive	video
2015-09-26T03:03:46	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/764436960349552/	General	Positive	photo
2015-09-25T00:54:19	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/763964383730143/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-09-24T20:30:31	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/763889953737586/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-09-24T20:25:32	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/763889050404343/	Violence	Negative	status
2015-09-24T15:42:17	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/763785337081381/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-09-24T14:52:44	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/763771920416056/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-09-23T20:56:25	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/763502710442977/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-09-22T20:37:08	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/762912253835356/	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-09-22T20:27:00	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/762909360502312/	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-09-22T11:50:53	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/762258130567435/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-09-22T04:13:17	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/762447267215188/	General	Positive	photo
2015-09-22T02:13:50	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/762417373884844/	Culture	Positive	link
2015-09-21T22:30:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/762253270567921/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-09-21T18:26:58	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/762185947241320/	General	Positive	photo

2015-09-21T14:08:46	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/762089870584261/	General	Positive	photo
2015-09-21T13:54:31	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/762082887251626/	Social inequality	Negative	photo
2015-09-21T00:06:59	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/761827770610471/	General	Negative	photo
2015-09-20T12:57:03	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/761587467301168/	General	Positive	photo
2015-09-18T22:16:28	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/760370294089552/	General	Negative	photo
2015-09-18T20:33:57	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/760341500759098/	General	Positive	photo
2015-09-18T14:43:17	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/760216370771611/	General	Negative	photo
2015-09-17T13:24:48	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/759590507500864/	General	Negative	video
2015-09-17T02:23:26	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/759359757523939/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-09-16T16:19:16	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/759092734217308/	General	Positive	photo
2015-09-16T12:53:11	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/758829094243672/	General	Positive	photo
2015-09-15T13:08:12	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/758094514317130/	Social inequality	Positive	video
2015-09-15T11:56:19	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/758263854300196/	General	Positive	photo
2015-09-14T13:09:43	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/757413951051853/	General	Positive	photo
2015-09-14T01:09:58	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/757044007755514/	General	Positive	photo

2015-09-13T16:36:17	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/756630021130246/	General	Positive	photo
2015-09-10T22:16:16	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/754382704688311/	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-09-10T21:56:01	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/754377188022196/	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-09-10T13:30:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/753957598064155/	General	Positive	link
2015-09-09T14:14:07	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/753306964795885/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-09-08T20:01:43	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/752705274856054/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-09-07T12:38:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/726622524130996/	Life in the favelas	Negative	photo
2015-09-06T18:55:42	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/751741818285733/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-09-06T15:49:24	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/751682218291693/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-09-06T14:55:19	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/751658534960728/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-09-05T23:33:25	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/751358618324053/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-09-05T23:25:50	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/751355908324324/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-09-05T23:01:01	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/751347471658501/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-09-04T23:57:42	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/750760368383878/	Violence	Positive	video
2015-09-04T22:47:43	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/750709301722318/	Violence	Positive	photo

2015-09-04T00:25:48	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/750274621765786/	Life in the favelas	Negative	photo
2015-09-03T13:28:48	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/750050228454892/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-09-01T14:10:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/748991698560745/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-08-31T18:09:12	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/748806661912582/	Life in the favelas	Positive	link
2015-08-31T16:43:45	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/748778505248731/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-08-30T00:44:59	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/747984398661475/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-08-29T14:59:26	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/747796568680258/	Culture	Negative	photo
2015-08-29T14:06:13	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/747751995351382/	Life in the favelas	Negative	photo
2015-08-28T14:31:30	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/747061855420396/	Life in the favelas	Positive	link
2015-08-27T15:08:46	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/746476845478897/	Government actions	Negative	photo
2015-08-27T14:07:56	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/746448918815023/	General	Positive	video
2015-08-25T01:19:01	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/745170022276246/	Life in the favelas	Positive	video
2015-08-23T00:38:18	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/744221105704471/	Life in the favelas	Positive	status
2015-08-22T19:36:33		Life in the favelas	Negative	photo
2015-08-22T14:03:14	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/744031749056740/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-08-22T12:05:59	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/743978945728687/	Life in the favelas	Positive	video

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2015-08-22T01:47:23	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/743785082414740/	Life in the favelas	Positive	video
2015-08-21T15:11:16	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/743623425764239/	Life in the favelas	Negative	photo
2015-08-21T12:36:24	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/743552289104686/	Life in the favelas	Negative	photo
2015-08-21T01:45:54	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/743375122455736/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-08-20T20:35:06	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/743283909131524/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-08-20T15:30:08	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/743189452474303/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-08-19T17:41:02	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/742798282513420/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-08-17T22:02:07	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/741939732599275/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-08-17T20:45:37	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/741912185935363/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-08-17T14:07:19	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/741751569284758/	General	Negative	link
2015-08-15T20:41:37	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/741059649353950/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-08-15T15:39:44	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/740948556031726/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-08-15T00:53:55	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/740711019388813/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-08-14T21:55:53	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/740665786060003/	Violence	Negative	status
2015-08-14T20:38:10	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/740644802728768/	Social inequality	Negative	video

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2015-08-14T17:30:26	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/740581249401790/	Social inequality	Negative	video
2015-08-12T11:40:00	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/739468129513102/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-08-09T17:34:36	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/738140729645842/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-08-09T16:08:54	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/738102492982999/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-08-09T15:25:26	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/738085229651392/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-08-09T15:19:57	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/738083446318237/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-08-08T21:09:51	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/737727356353846/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-08-08T17:08:54	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/737653929694522/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-08-08T15:31:04	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/737614986365083/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-08-07T03:53:15	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/736981753095073/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-08-07T01:29:42	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/736940273099221/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-08-07T00:39:26	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/736926006433981/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-08-07T00:31:16	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/736924356434146/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-08-06T21:41:07	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/736833549776560/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-08-04T19:30:09	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/735661379893777/	Life in the favelas	Positive	link

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2015-08-04T13:23:37	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/735519826574599/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-08-02T14:07:22	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/734668733326375/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-07-31T20:54:43	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/733819950077920/	General	Negative	link
2015-07-30T13:30:27	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/733128836813698/	Violence	Negative	link
2015-07-25T17:19:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/730848790375036/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-07-24T17:05:11	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/730398947086687/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-07-23T17:05:40	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/729883470471568/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-07-21T15:08:37	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/728923173900931/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-07-21T13:02:41	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/728881333905115/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-07-21T02:32:11	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/728700910589824/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-07-21T02:27:02	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/728699327256649/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-07-16T14:34:56	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/726672050792710/	Social inequality	Negative	photo
2015-07-12T00:17:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/724914030968512/	Social inequality	Negative	video
2015-07-10T15:37:55	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/724225224370726/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-07-10T15:36:59	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/724224857704096/	Police violence	Negative	photo

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2015-07-05T12:53:26	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/721613481298567/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-07-05T12:45:44	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/721608301299085/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-07-03T14:41:46	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/720734894719759/	General	Positive	video
2015-07-02T12:24:26	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/719954061464509/	General	Negative	photo
2015-07-02T03:23:46	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/719770221482893/	Violence	Negative	status
2015-07-01T22:23:36	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/719670828159499/	General	Negative	photo
2015-07-01T03:02:41	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/719308398195742/	General	Negative	photo
2015-06-30T20:09:37	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/719164304876818/	Police violence	Negative	status
2015-06-29T20:26:21	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/718663111593604/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-06-29T15:49:03	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/718546678271914/	Violence	Negative	status
2015-06-26T20:31:05	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/716897281770187/	General	Neutral	link
2015-06-26T20:19:34	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/716894401770475/	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-06-24T00:13:55	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/714979878628594/	General	Positive	photo
2015-06-23T12:39:45	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/714726071987308/	Life in the favelas	Negative	link
2015-06-20T16:40:32	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/713255208801061/	Social inequality	Negative	photo

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2015-06-20T01:49:17	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/712858568840725/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-06-18T15:43:09	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/712126958913886/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-06-18T14:13:09	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/712086298917952/	General	Negative	photo
2015-06-18T13:53:50	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/712081718918410/	Social inequality	Negative	link
2015-06-17T13:19:41	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/711490762310839/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-06-15T20:42:32	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/710307209095861/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-06-13T18:09:52	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/709236369202945/	General	Negative	video
2015-06-09T14:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/706323596160889/	General	Positive	photo
2015-06-04T12:04:17	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/704126259713956/	Social inequality	Negative	video
2015-06-03T21:28:10	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/703668909759691/	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-06-03T15:29:45	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/703181839808398/	General	Positive	video
2015-06-01T23:26:44	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/701758826617366/	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-06-01T16:45:01	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/701524776640771/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-06-01T15:33:57	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/701620296631219/	Social inequality	Positive	photo
2015-06-01T14:04:43	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/701531876640061/	Social inequality	Negative	photo

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2015-06-01T13:29:08	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/701518369974745/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-06-01T11:24:20	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/701462629980319/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-05-30T18:15:46	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/700383883421527/	Social inequality	Negative	video
2015-05-29T01:04:25	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/699023846890864/	Social inequality	Negative	video
2015-05-29T01:01:07	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/699023106890938/	Social inequality	Negative	video
2015-05-28T22:23:45	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/698984680228114/	General	Positive	photo
2015-05-28T15:38:07	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/698882973571618/	General	Positive	photo
2015-05-28T07:27:39	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/698762160250366/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-05-27T21:56:15	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/698541990272383/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-05-27T20:53:20	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/698530110273571/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-05-27T16:03:39	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/698408313619084/	General	Negative	photo
2015-05-27T11:23:40	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/698309880295594/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-05-26T14:38:22	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/697854417007807/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-05-26T13:50:38	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/697838617009387/	Police violence	Negative	link
2015-05-24T15:29:08	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/696919310434651/	Police violence	Negative	photo

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2015-05-23T18:02:08	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/696611900465392/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-05-23T16:29:47	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/696592030467379/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-05-21T23:46:02	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/695994840527098/	Social inequality	Negative	photo
2015-05-19T11:29:33	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/694965467296702/	Government actions	Positive	photo
2015-05-17T12:02:13	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/694134154046500/	General	Negative	link
2015-05-16T15:25:40	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/693793877413861/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-05-16T14:59:49	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/693785114081404/	General	Negative	photo
2015-05-15T22:09:42	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/693438940782688/	Life in the favelas	Negative	link
2015-05-15T22:00:03	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/693437207449528/	Social inequality	Negative	photo
2015-05-15T01:29:12	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/693129024147013/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-05-14T23:45:52	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/693106580815924/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-05-14T23:30:08	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/693102974149618/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-05-14T22:46:04	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/693091277484121/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-05-14T20:02:21	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/693054487487800/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-05-14T19:25:17	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/693045764155339/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo

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2015-05-14T00:00:22	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/692649470861635/	Culture	Positive	status
2015-05-13T23:02:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/692635927529656/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-05-13T18:29:03	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/692525587540690/	General	Negative	photo
2015-05-13T14:32:15	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/692459934213922/	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-05-13T00:52:36	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/692237550902827/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-05-12T23:21:01	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/692211547572094/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-05-11T22:42:01	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/691819387611310/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-05-10T17:21:56	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/691329190993663/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-05-08T01:18:01	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/690392041087378/	General	Positive	video
2015-05-07T20:36:39	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/690330534426862/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-05-06T14:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/688829217910327/	General	Positive	photo
2015-05-06T02:32:42	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/689699797823269/	Life in the favelas	Neutral	photo
2015-05-05T15:53:03	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/689449021181680/	Violence	Negative	link
2015-05-04T22:18:30	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/688983967894852/	Government actions	Neutral	link
2015-05-04T20:25:01	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/688925237900725/	General	Neutral	photo

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2015-05-04T15:14:26	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/688846164575299/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-05-04T14:56:15	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/688842834575632/	Life in the favelas	Negative	photo
2015-05-04T14:38:04	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/688838724576043/	Life in the favelas	Negative	photo
2015-05-04T13:56:55	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/688827257910523/	Life in the favelas	Negative	photo
2015-05-04T13:24:40	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/688816784578237/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-05-03T14:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/688178317975417/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-05-01T23:41:21	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/687824568010792/	Social inequality	Negative	link
2015-05-01T12:02:14	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/687627041363878/	Life in the favelas	Negative	status
2015-05-01T03:13:10	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/687496524710263/	Life in the favelas	Positive	video
2015-04-29T12:54:18	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/686715324788383/	Life in the favelas	Positive	status
2015-04-29T02:07:30	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/686526904807225/	General	Positive	photo
2015-04-28T20:36:30	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/686406884819227/	Government actions	Positive	photo
2015-04-28T17:03:56	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/686323868160862/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-04-27T20:00:03	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/685882178205031/	General	Positive	video
2015-04-27T17:07:41	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/685799151546667/	Social inequality	Negative	status

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2015-04-25T01:58:07	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/684499668343282/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-04-24T19:00:03	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/684380355021880/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-04-24T16:57:37	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/684328888360360/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-04-23T16:23:20	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/683852045074711/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-04-22T16:49:59	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/683373421789240/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-04-21T11:55:07	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/682769195182996/	Culture	Positive	link
2015-04-18T19:39:44	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/681309888662260/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-04-18T13:31:03	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/681154712011111/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-04-17T13:58:07	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/680627778730471/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-17T01:40:29	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/680392088754040/	Police violence	Negative	status
2015-04-16T18:59:48	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/680281998765049/	General	Positive	photo
2015-04-16T18:49:08	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/680278712098711/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-16T14:30:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/680135865446329/	Culture	Positive	link
2015-04-16T09:13:15	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/680048055455110/	General	Positive	photo
2015-04-16T01:11:06	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/679898028803446/	General	Negative	link

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2015-04-15T18:30:01	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/679725805487335/	General	Positive	link
2015-04-15T17:15:02	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/679723518820897/	Life in the favelas	Positive	link
2015-04-15T15:58:07	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/679717338821515/	Life in the favelas	Positive	link
2015-04-14T23:06:32	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/679408185519097/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-14T02:00:33	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/678977425562173/	General	Positive	photo
2015-04-12T13:49:42	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/677866379006611/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-04-12T12:32:14	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/677836119009637/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-04-10T14:01:50	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/676839169109332/	Government actions	Positive	photo
2015-04-10T13:59:32	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/676838495776066/	Government actions	Positive	photo
2015-04-09T23:21:18	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/676454969147752/	Life in the favelas	Negative	video
2015-04-09T17:49:03	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/676336412492941/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-04-08T17:46:29	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/675827662543816/	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-04-08T12:52:38	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/675709822555600/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-08T00:46:07	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/675491255910790/	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-04-07T22:33:03	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/675442855915630/	Social inequality	Negative	photo

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2015-04-07T21:41:24	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/675428739250375/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-07T01:19:06	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/674920929301156/	Government actions	Positive	status
2015-04-05T13:37:16	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/674108826049033/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-05T05:40:36	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/673936612732921/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-05T05:34:21	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/673935049399744/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-05T01:47:41	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/673866212739961/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-05T01:44:44	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/673865379406711/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-04T18:57:14	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/673737332752849/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-04-04T18:54:28	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/673736439419605/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-04T14:53:34	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/673644599428789/	Violence	Positive	photo
2015-04-04T14:44:28	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/673641439429105/	Violence	Positive	photo
2015-04-04T13:33:31	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/673613982765184/	Violence	Positive	photo
2015-04-03T22:36:22	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/673272266132689/	Violence	Positive	photo
2015-04-03T21:34:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/673252726134643/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-04-03T16:44:01	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/673084726151443/	Police violence	Negative	photo

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2015-04-03T12:47:43	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/672981272828455/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-03T11:28:20	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/672882619504987/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-03T11:19:20	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/672846809508568/	General	Negative	status
2015-04-02T23:24:57	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/672552022871380/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-02T21:04:43	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/672506299542619/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-02T16:44:53	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/672410486218867/	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-04-02T15:58:29	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/672399666219949/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-02T10:37:14	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/672195052907077/	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-04-02T03:26:59	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/671992046260711/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-04-02T02:28:05	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/671978572928725/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-04-02T01:27:33	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/671963182930264/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-04-02T00:38:17	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/671930799600169/	Violence	Negative	status
2015-04-02T00:10:31	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/671922049601044/	Police violence	Negative	status
2015-04-01T19:13:43	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/671757909617458/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-04-01T13:47:48	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/671488442977738/	General	Negative	link

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2015-03-31T19:56:36	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/671103173016265/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-03-30T19:21:27	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/670379773088605/	Life in the favelas	Negative	photo
2015-03-28T17:39:04	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/669030766556839/	Life in the favelas	Negative	photo
2015-03-27T04:40:37	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/668076733318909/	Life in the favelas	Positive	status
2015-03-26T18:27:31	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/667887413337841/	General	Positive	photo
2015-03-26T12:49:56	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/667762186683697/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-03-26T02:56:07	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/667430140050235/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-03-26T02:20:23	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/667376856722230/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-03-25T17:14:06	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/667183733408209/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-03-24T02:11:45	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/665903406869575/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-03-23T21:47:25	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/665781036881812/	Social inequality	Negative	photo
2015-03-22T00:20:35	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/664600850333164/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-03-21T16:53:02	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/664394840353765/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-03-20T18:33:02	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/663829903743592/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-03-20T03:53:55	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/663415450451704/	Violence	Negative	photo

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2015-03-19T23:53:25	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/663342387125677/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-03-19T11:15:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/662952630497986/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-03-15T21:46:53	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/660506527409263/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-03-15T14:21:05	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/660236844102898/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-03-15T03:46:12	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/659817257478190/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-03-13T20:56:18	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/658891810904068/	General	Positive	photo
2015-03-12T22:17:22	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/658279410965308/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-03-11T20:27:06	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/657648177695098/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-03-11T14:17:41	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/657333301059919/	General	Negative	video
2015-03-11T11:25:10	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/657237587736157/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-03-10T12:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/656620704464512/	Violence	Negative	link
2015-03-08T19:35:05	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/655719731221276/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-03-06T01:22:47	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/653976574728925/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-03-06T01:02:30	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/653962811396968/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-03-05T23:55:11	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/653946074731975/	Culture	Positive	photo

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2015-03-05T23:30:55	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/653938991399350/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-03-05T23:29:41	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/653938668066049/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-03-05T23:04:06	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/653931748066741/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-03-05T22:54:15	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/653928374733745/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-03-05T22:51:14	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/653927291400520/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-03-05T17:03:20	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/653794408080475/	Culture	Positive	status
2015-03-03T21:30:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/652736908186225/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-03-03T20:03:02	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/652654868194429/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-03-03T19:44:45	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/652648564861726/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-03-03T17:27:30	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/652600714866511/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-03-03T13:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/640885802704669/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-03-02T20:44:54	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/652163514910231/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-03-02T13:14:52	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/651997581593491/	General	Negative	photo
2015-03-01T01:40:33	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/651291474997435/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-02-27T15:30:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/650584208401495/	Culture	Positive	photo

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2015-02-27T15:02:16	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/650565458403370/	Police violence	Negative	link
2015-02-26T15:38:55	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/650108465115736/	General	Positive	photo
2015-02-26T09:56:20	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/649993788460537/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-02-24T13:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/640615706065012/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-02-24T12:53:23	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/649005591892690/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-02-24T11:22:14	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/649025095224073/	Violence	Negative	status
2015-02-24T00:14:40	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/648769525249630/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-02-20T16:57:59	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/647078685418714/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-02-19T21:14:02	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/646523028807613/	General	Positive	link
2015-02-19T14:55:22	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/646390712154178/	Social inequality	Negative	status
2015-02-19T11:25:21	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/646299855496597/	Social inequality	Negative	link
2015-02-18T02:56:48	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/645572518902664/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-02-18T02:04:44	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/645551988904717/	General	Negative	video
2015-02-18T01:12:33	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/645537975572785/	General	Positive	photo
2015-02-17T15:55:44	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/645350482258201/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo

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2015-02-17T12:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/637633513029898 /	Culture	Positive	video
2015-02-17T07:27:35	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/645196388940277 /	Police violence	Negative	status
2015-02-17T00:58:07	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/644985662294683 /	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-02-16T21:40:44	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/644923775634205 /	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-02-16T21:10:14	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/644911742302075 /	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-02-14T16:20:20	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/643587629101153 /	General	Positive	video
2015-02-14T01:54:31	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/643290659130850 /	Favelas history	Positive	photo
2015-02-13T23:33:14	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/643245239135392 /	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-02-13T15:07:59	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/643007305825852 /	Violence	Negative	link
2015-02-12T19:36:33	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/642492442544005 /	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-02-11T23:16:58	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/641952935931289 /	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-02-11T16:33:56	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/641815895944993 /	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-02-11T01:37:31	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/641451929314723 /	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-02-11T01:29:38	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/641449935981589 /	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-02-11T01:20:52	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/641447802648469	Police violence	Negative	photo

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2015-02-11T01:09:07	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/641444775982105/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-02-10T23:17:10	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/641408719319044/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-02-10T21:00:07	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/641367235989859/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-02-10T20:01:51	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/641348925991690/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-02-10T19:36:17	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/641340689325847/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-02-10T19:20:59	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/641337999326116/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-02-10T19:05:26	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/641331035993479/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-02-10T18:29:25	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/641313955995187/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-02-10T12:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/640541386072444/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-02-10T11:36:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/640860916040491/	Culture	Positive	status
2015-02-09T23:40:06	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/640809442712305/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-02-09T21:18:59	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/640751172718132/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-02-08T16:37:49	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/640070992786150/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-02-08T15:10:06	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/640039926122590/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-02-08T13:58:58	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/640005402792709/	Police violence	Negative	video

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2015-02-08T13:29:13	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/639994702793779/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-02-08T13:27:20	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/639993856127197/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-02-08T13:06:44	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/639985086128074/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-02-08T12:34:08	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/639972942795955/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-02-08T12:22:56	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/639968616129721/	Social inequality	Negative	photo
2015-02-08T12:18:50	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/639967196129863/	Social inequality	Negative	photo
2015-02-08T12:08:15	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/639962866130296/	Social inequality	Negative	photo
2015-02-08T11:55:56	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/639955969464319/	Violence	Negative	photo
2015-02-08T11:24:56	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/639944782798771/	Violence	Negative	status
2015-02-07T21:25:49	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/639663592826890/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-02-07T19:05:40	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/639619822831267/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-02-07T13:45:11	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/639494306177152/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-02-06T22:30:07	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/639243102868939/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-02-06T01:00:39	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/638826089577307/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-02-05T13:34:46	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/638594372933812/	Violence	Negative	video

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2015-02-05T10:41:42	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/638537892939460/	Life in the favelas	Neutral	photo
2015-02-05T09:28:38	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/638517369608179/	General	Negative	photo
2015-02-04T23:17:02	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/638362416290341/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-02-03T14:58:59	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/637627566363826/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-02-02T22:26:59	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/637256093067640/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-02-01T22:30:24		Culture	Positive	photo
2015-01-31T20:43:21	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/636213979838518/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-01-31T19:52:21	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/636199909839925/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-01-31T16:53:39		Culture	Positive	photo
2015-01-31T18:21:34	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/636174256509157/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-01-31T17:19:55	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/636154409844475/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-01-31T16:50:14	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/636144796512103/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-01-31T15:41:18	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/636116606514922/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-01-29T14:16:19	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/635142109945705/	Culture	Positive	video
2015-01-28T22:18:17	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/634755249984391/	General	Positive	photo
2015-01-28T17:29:47	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/634661503327099/	Violence	Negative	photo

	/			
2015-01-28T16:25:25	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/634608359999080/	Violence	Negative	status
2015-01-27T12:56:33	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/634068770053039/	General	Positive	photo
2015-01-27T01:35:48	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/633860736740509/	Police violence	Negative	video
2015-01-26T21:55:58	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/633775346749048/	Violence	Negative	status
2015-01-24T22:32:41	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/632472790212637/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-01-19T13:30:13	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/629826537143929/	General	Positive	photo
2015-01-19T11:48:53	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/629796590480257/	General	Positive	photo
2015-01-18T22:24:05	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/629559920503924/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-01-18T20:24:27	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/629521340507782/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-01-18T04:18:29	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/629122643880985/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-01-13T18:37:00	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/627081984085051/	Culture	Positive	status
2015-01-10T01:07:05	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/625170887609494/	Culture	Positive	photo
2015-01-08T22:25:06	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/624627324330517/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-01-07T02:14:24	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/623333687793214/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-01-06T01:24:11	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/622401904553059/	Social inequality	Negative	photo

	/			
2015-01-06T00:17:45	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/622383984554851/	Social inequality	Negative	photo
2015-01-05T16:54:44	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/622237324569517/	Violence	Negative	video
2015-01-05T13:29:09	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/622125737914009/	Life in the favelas	Positive	photo
2015-01-04T16:31:46	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/621319094661340/	Social inequality	Negative	video
2015-01-04T14:06:40	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/621275811332335/	Police violence	Negative	photo
2015-01-03T15:28:53	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/620443774748872/	Social inequality	Negative	photo
2015-01-03T13:42:58	https://www.facebook.com/487948524665065/posts/620351371424779/	Violence	Negative	status
2015-01-02T17:15:40	https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoPapoReto/videos/619737911486125/	General	Positive	video

APPENDIX 7 – MATERIAL COLLECTED FROM MARÉ VIVE’S PAGE ON FACEBOOK

([HTTPS://WWW.FACEBOOK.COM/MAREVIVE/](https://www.facebook.com/marevive/))

date	post_link	categories	tone	media
2015-12-31t09:21:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/943708738997912/	general	positive	photo
2015-12-30t13:49:56	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/943311685704284/	violence	negative	status
2015-12-30t09:17:34	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/943226619046124/	social inequality	negative	status
2015-12-28t11:45:36	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/942300932472026/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-12-28t10:52:27	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/942288202473299/	general	neutral	status
2015-12-26t08:18:12	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/941318072570312/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-12-	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/941318072570312/	violence	negative	status

24t17:08:34	732147/posts/940216986013754/			
2015-12-24t11:01:36	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/940054166030036/	general	negative	photo
2015-12-23t12:26:51	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/939540899414696/	government actions	negative	status
2015-12-23t09:25:40	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/939461689422617/	life in the favelas	negative	status
2015-12-22t13:25:08	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/939006239468162/	general	negative	status
2015-12-22t09:07:36	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/938920652810054/	general	neutral	status
2015-12-21t09:04:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/938390599529726/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-12-19t12:19:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/937524589616327/	culture	positive	photo
2015-12-19t09:59:17	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/937482292953890/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-12-16t23:24:37	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/936332453068874/	general	positive	status
2015-12-16t18:06:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/936240549744731/	general	negative	status
2015-12-15t21:58:03	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/935875879781198/	general	negative	link
2015-12-15t20:54:08	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/935857089783077/	social inequality	negative	photo
2015-12-14t09:05:02	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/935111079857678/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-12-13t08:16:27	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/934606219908164/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-12-12t10:09:59	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/934221599946626/	culture	positive	photo
2015-12-12t08:38:55	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/934198306615622/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-12-11t08:20:33	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/933718029996983/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-12-10t16:44:12	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/933441820024604/	general	positive	photo
2015-12-10t08:33:13	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/933287653373354/	violence	negative	status
2015-12-10t08:15:03	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/933284113373708/	violence	negative	status
2015-12-08t07:44:47	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/932401923461927/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-12-07t10:20:22	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/931988276836625/	violence	negative	status

2015-12-07t01:30:43	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/931835913518528/	general	negative	photo
2015-12-05t21:35:16	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/931207656914687/	police violence	negative	link
2015-12-05t10:08:16	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/930858486949604/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-12-04t18:06:34	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/930521446983308/	general	negative	photo
2015-12-04t16:26:00	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/930494186986034/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-12-04t15:44:34	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/930481633653956/	culture	positive	photo
2015-12-04t08:48:17	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/930344710334315/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-12-03t18:29:38	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/929974977037955/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-12-03t12:30:44	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/929850967050356/	life in the favelas	negative	link
2015-12-03t09:18:14	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/929801007055352/	life in the favelas	negative	status
2015-12-02t19:36:20	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/929545893747530/	violence	negative	video
2015-12-02t19:00:34	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/929537287081724/	violence	negative	video
2015-12-02t17:40:28	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/929514137084039/	police violence	negative	status
2015-12-02t17:16:52	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/929507167084736/	violence	negative	status
2015-12-02t10:20:31	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/929339340434852/	culture	positive	photo
2015-12-02t08:57:45	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/929311543770965/	violence	negative	photo
2015-12-01t14:12:45	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/928879250480861/	violence	negative	photo
2015-11-30t09:21:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/928355760533210/	violence	negative	photo
2015-11-30t03:13:37	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/928254130543373/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-11-29t12:56:04	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/927942107241242/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-11-27t17:57:26	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/927211287314324/	general	positive	status
2015-11-27t09:59:53	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/926983710670415/	social inequality	negative	photo
2015-11-	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/926983710670415/	life in the	neutral	status

26t09:05:51	732147/posts/926568557378597/	favelas		
2015-11-25t19:02:50	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/926360850732701/	life in the favelas	positive	link
2015-11-25t11:02:38	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/926123634089756/	general	negative	photo
2015-11-25t10:22:42	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/926114590757327/	social inequality	negative	photo
2015-11-23t09:08:18	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/925297887505664/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-11-20t17:00:42	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/924229417612511/	general	positive	video
2015-11-20t11:43:36	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/924117014290418/	general	positive	photo
2015-11-19t01:18:07	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/923586364343483/	violence	negative	link
2015-11-18t16:01:49	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/923400797695373/	general	positive	photo
2015-11-18t15:10:02	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/923357811033005/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-11-18t11:34:55	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/923249494377170/	culture	positive	photo
2015-11-18t10:32:26	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/923235027711950/	culture	positive	photo
2015-11-17t22:11:27	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/923054584396661/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-11-17t19:35:08	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/922991887736264/	general	negative	photo
2015-11-17t17:39:50	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/922954884406631/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-11-17t13:20:48	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/922878344414285/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-11-17t12:46:37	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/922868271081959/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-11-17t09:08:36	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/922811874420932/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-11-15t20:21:29	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/922021444499975/	police violence	positive	link
2015-11-15t15:04:17	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/921925334509586/	culture	positive	photo
2015-11-15t13:16:02	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/921885587846894/	general	negative	status
2015-11-15t10:20:26	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/921840831184703/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-11-14t10:13:11	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/921448474557272/	life in the favelas	positive	status

2015-11-13t11:26:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/921036384598481/	general	positive	photo
2015-11-13t10:51:43	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/921024197933033/	general	positive	photo
2015-11-13t10:42:15	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/921019651266821/	culture	positive	photo
2015-11-13t09:40:45	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/920995014602618/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-11-13t00:03:45	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/920862337949219/	government actions	negative	photo
2015-11-12t21:14:52	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/920789251289861/	life in the favelas	negative	status
2015-11-12t12:28:48	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/920641851304601/	violence	negative	status
2015-11-12t02:12:51	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/920497884652331/	violence	negative	status
2015-11-11t16:32:47	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/920307558004697/	general	negative	photo
2015-11-10t20:39:17	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/919997021369084/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-11-10t09:21:24	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/919784451390341/	violence	negative	status
2015-11-09t08:12:27	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/919334084768711/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-11-07t09:31:48	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/918507578184695/	life in the favelas	neutral	photo
2015-11-06t19:01:30	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/918297298205723/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-11-06t08:37:24	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/918116261557160/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-11-05t12:38:39	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/917778544924265/	violence	negative	photo
2015-11-05t10:58:36	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/917749554927164/	violence	negative	status
2015-11-05t10:53:21	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/917748308260622/	general	negative	status
2015-11-04t15:38:44	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/917425784959541/	violence	negative	photo
2015-11-02t10:59:11	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/916553525046767/	general	neutral	photo
2015-10-31t09:22:31	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/915775218457931/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-10-30t20:50:55	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/915588751809911/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-10-	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/915588751809911/	life in the favelas	positive	status

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2015-10-29t09:46:36	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/914991418536311/	general	neutral	photo
2015-10-29t09:06:29	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/914982741870512/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-10-28t11:44:55	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/914589188576534/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-10-28t08:48:58	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/914552658580187/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-10-27t22:29:40	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/914379911930795/	life in the favelas	neutral	photo
2015-10-27t13:08:31	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/914213885280731/	life in the favelas	negative	link
2015-10-27t09:16:22	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/914142581954528/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-10-26t15:13:51	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/913882218647231/	general	positive	video
2015-10-26t08:08:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/913765618658891/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-10-25t08:59:11	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/913317688703684/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-10-24t14:31:35	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/913028388732614/	government actions	negative	video
2015-10-24t09:08:09	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/912947398740713/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-10-23t17:17:23	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/912718192096967/	violence	negative	link
2015-10-23t10:32:42	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/912588115443308/	violence	negative	photo
2015-10-22t18:16:29	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/912348755467244/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-10-22t13:34:21	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/912265788808874/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-10-22t08:49:46	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/912194022149384/	life in the favelas	neutral	photo
2015-10-21t14:04:04	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/911811192187667/	favelas history	positive	link
2015-10-21t10:15:51	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/911748992193887/	social inequality	negative	photo
2015-10-21t09:34:38	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/911740425528077/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-10-21t00:57:47	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/911615542207232/	general	negative	video
2015-10-20t12:19:27	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/911392335562886/	culture	positive	photo

2015-10-20t08:29:19	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/911328682235918/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-10-19t17:54:32	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/911022152266571/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-10-19t13:17:18	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/910927062276080/	violence	negative	link
2015-10-19t11:28:14	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/910887035613416/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-10-16t21:27:00	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/909917189043734/	general	negative	status
2015-10-16t01:52:45	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/909596389075814/	social inequality	negative	status
2015-10-15t21:18:07	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/909522199083233/	social inequality	negative	photo
2015-10-15t10:48:06	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/909334885768631/	violence	negative	status
2015-10-15t09:30:47	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/909319195770200/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-10-14t14:15:34	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/908939805808139/	social inequality	negative	photo
2015-10-14t11:11:29	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/908852882483498/	violence	negative	photo
2015-10-13t13:39:53	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/908489692519817/	violence	negative	photo
2015-10-12t12:48:25	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/908098615892258/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-10-11t10:54:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/907682969267156/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-10-11t09:52:37	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/907666639268789/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-10-10t09:25:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/907246622644124/	culture	positive	photo
2015-10-09t09:20:29	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/906881559347297/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-10-08t20:19:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/906715516030568/	general	positive	photo
2015-10-08t19:07:06	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/906696762699110/	culture	positive	photo
2015-10-08t09:45:52	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/906514296050690/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-10-07t11:17:07	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/906157369419716/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-10-07t10:59:22	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/906152986086821/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-10-	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/906152986086821/	violence	negative	status

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2015-10-05t09:34:58	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/905318949503558/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-10-04t16:34:13	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/905065182862268/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-10-04t10:28:51	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/904958206206299/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-10-01t21:42:57	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/904096496292470/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-10-01t12:06:32	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/903922729643180/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-30t17:06:09	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/903630199672433/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-09-30t11:03:49	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/903506436351476/	general	positive	photo
2015-09-29t22:50:47	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/903353923033394/	police violence	negative	video
2015-09-29t15:20:15	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/903227599712693/	general	negative	link
2015-09-29t08:55:14	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/903127163056070/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-29t02:34:58	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/903051619730291/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-09-28t14:55:31	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/902867283082058/	violence	negative	photo
2015-09-28t00:51:24	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/902673676434752/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-09-27t23:42:39	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/902660623102724/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-09-27t22:21:14	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/902646966437423/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-09-27t16:24:37	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/902556713113115/	favelas history	positive	photo
2015-09-27t10:22:49	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/902449676457152/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-09-26t19:36:10	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/902266259808827/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-09-26t17:41:47	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/902229953145791/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-09-26t11:19:15	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/902139193154867/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-09-25t16:15:04	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/901883793180407/	culture	positive	photo
2015-09-25t13:13:22	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/901825613186225/	life in the favelas	positive	video

2015-09-24t20:16:16	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/901575816544538/	general	positive	status
2015-09-24t19:50:24	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/901569119878541/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-24t15:33:35	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/901478469887606/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-24t14:59:04	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/901451033223683/	violence	negative	video
2015-09-24t10:05:56	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/901351879900265/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-09-24t02:49:52	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/901257739909679/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-23t22:49:58	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/901205633248223/	police violence	negative	status
2015-09-23t20:55:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/901159659919487/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-23t20:23:24	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/901149746587145/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-23t20:09:59	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/901146716587448/	culture	positive	photo
2015-09-23t13:24:13	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/901033036598816/	culture	positive	photo
2015-09-22t15:31:06	photo			
2015-09-22t14:14:07	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/900625979972855/	general	negative	video
2015-09-22t10:15:54	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/900553893313397/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-22t04:43:23	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/900484659986987/	violence	negative	photo
2015-09-22t00:23:53	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/900413829994070/	violence	negative	photo
2015-09-21t10:36:24	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/900133753355411/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-09-20t20:09:44	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/899918053376981/	favelas history	positive	video
2015-09-20t19:07:26	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/899896963379090/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-20t10:21:29	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/899697583399028/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-09-19t15:15:06	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/899354336766686/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-09-18t10:08:08	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/898772300158223/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-09-16t13:31:02	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/898772300158223/	general	negative	photo

	732147/posts/898006330234820/			
2015-09-16t11:06:18	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/897949656907154/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-09-15t19:00:02	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/897643313604455/	social inequality	negative	photo
2015-09-15t17:08:36	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/897641096938010/	violence	negative	link
2015-09-15t11:04:15	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/897496820285771/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-09-14t23:26:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/897325410302912/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-14t22:48:18	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/897315323637254/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-14t22:15:22	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/897306730304780/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-14t21:45:10	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/897298073638979/	violence	negative	photo
2015-09-14t21:29:52	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/897293390306114/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-14t21:02:19	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/897284703640316/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-13t11:16:34	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/896574597044660/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-09-09t13:12:10	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/894561800579273/	violence	negative	photo
2015-09-09t10:28:37	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/894471707254949/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-09t10:03:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/894460317256088/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-08t23:45:39	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/894297343939052/	violence	negative	video
2015-09-08t17:49:13	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/894194127282707/	violence	negative	video
2015-09-08t16:46:16	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/894173033951483/	violence	negative	photo
2015-09-08t15:40:26	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/894151460620307/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-08t15:03:42	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/894136793955107/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-09-08t13:06:28	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/894097467292373/	violence	negative	status
2015-09-07t22:14:58	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/893869970648456/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-09-07t11:30:00	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/893582380677215/	life in the favelas	neutral	status

2015-09-05t14:12:51	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/892933477408772/	general	negative	status
2015-09-03t21:55:28	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/892185037483616/	violence	negative	link
2015-08-30t19:44:31	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/890378270997626/	life in the favelas	neutral	photo
2015-08-28t03:05:30	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/888602011175252/	general	negative	photo
2015-08-24t02:55:14	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/886806318021488/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-08-21t11:35:23	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/885678384800948/	violence	negative	status
2015-08-16t20:40:43	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/883729908329129/	general	positive	status
2015-08-15t13:16:49	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/883214458380674/	general	negative	video
2015-08-15t01:16:37	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/883058238396296/	culture	neutral	photo
2015-08-14t23:15:19	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/883018665066920/	violence	negative	status
2015-08-13t21:20:29	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/882600778442042/	violence	negative	link
2015-08-13t15:46:12	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/882497981785655/	general	neutral	photo
2015-08-12t18:24:50	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/882133391822114/	general	negative	photo
2015-08-12t13:56:43	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/881812325187554/	violence	negative	link
2015-08-12t02:32:18	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/881548631880590/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-08-11t22:59:38	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/881494698552650/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-08-11t14:07:39	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/881132758588844/	social inequality	negative	link
2015-08-11t10:38:38	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/881005655268221/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-08-09t17:04:08	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/880167725352014/	general	negative	status
2015-08-07t12:01:36	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/879197708782349/	violence	negative	status
2015-08-06t22:47:53	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/879042348797885/	violence	negative	photo
2015-08-04t14:14:39	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/877978005570986/	general	negative	photo
2015-08-	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/877978005570986/	life in the	negative	photo

04t01:24:58	732147/posts/877764728925647/	favelas		
2015-07-30t19:12:14	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/876030285765758/	general	positive	status
2015-07-28t00:23:06	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/874808882554565/	police violence	negative	status
2015-07-25t23:56:26	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/873963089305811/	violence	negative	status
2015-07-25t23:48:43	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/873961342639319/	violence	negative	status
2015-07-25t22:01:11	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/873934912641962/	general	negative	photo
2015-07-24t14:07:23	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/873321376036649/	life in the favelas	negative	status
2015-07-20t20:43:26	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/871765262858927/	police violence	negative	link
2015-07-19t14:19:40	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/871166819585438/	general	positive	photo
2015-07-19t01:59:06	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/870929199609200/	general	negative	link
2015-07-18t03:09:18	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/870533556315431/	general	negative	status
2015-07-16t12:23:55	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/869847986383988/	general	negative	video
2015-07-16t10:41:03	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/869824106386376/	life in the favelas	positive	link
2015-07-15t11:29:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/869476643087789/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-07-14t15:27:19	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/869205456448241/	violence	negative	status
2015-07-10t19:30:00	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/867713336597453/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-07-10t18:13:36	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/867747726594014/	violence	negative	video
2015-07-09t10:09:35	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/867267523308701/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-07-09t00:07:44	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/867125903322863/	police violence	negative	video
2015-07-08t19:31:03	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/867048546663932/	violence	negative	link
2015-07-08t19:06:31	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/867043379997782/	violence	negative	status
2015-07-08t16:35:56	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/866999096668877/	life in the favelas	negative	link
2015-07-08t14:18:47	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/866933820008738/	violence	negative	photo

2015-07-08t12:41:24	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/866909020011218/	violence	negative	status
2015-07-06t18:37:02	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/866247726744014/	culture	positive	link
2015-07-05t23:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864043146964472/	general	positive	status
2015-07-05t14:57:07	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/865667603468693/	general	negative	status
2015-07-04t23:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864029706965816/	general	positive	status
2015-07-04t21:08:41	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/865387983496655/	general	negative	link
2015-07-03t22:00:44	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/865001286868658/	general	negative	video
2015-07-03t14:38:09	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864894670212653/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-07-03t13:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864264470275673/	police violence	negative	status
2015-07-02t23:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864028126965974/	general	positive	status
2015-07-02t14:36:09	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864486423586811/	life in the favelas	negative	status
2015-07-02t13:15:14	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864463410255779/	violence	negative	status
2015-07-02t05:27:16	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864370106931776/	general	negative	status
2015-07-02t02:24:56	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864335890268531/	government actions	negative	status
2015-07-02t00:30:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864027603632693/	general	positive	status
2015-07-01t22:39:00	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864282130273907/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-07-01t21:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864247563610697/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-07-01t19:59:13	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864242783611175/	violence	negative	status
2015-07-01t15:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864167920285328/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-07-01t13:51:35	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864153796953407/	violence	negative	status
2015-07-01t13:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/864036963631757/	social inequality	negative	status
2015-07-01t00:56:48	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/863924526976334/	general	positive	photo
2015-06-	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/863924526976334/	social	negative	status

30t19:20:00	732147/posts/863818050320315/	inequality		
2015-06-30t17:27:26	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/863812216987565/	violence	negative	photo
2015-06-30t11:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/863645480337572/	violence	negative	photo
2015-06-30t10:09:26	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/863690973666356/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-06-30t06:21:07	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/863650907003696/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-06-30t05:20:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/863634250338695/	violence	negative	photo
2015-06-30t04:43:24	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/863626033672850/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-06-30t04:08:26	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/863615737007213/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-06-30t03:26:40	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/863607207008066/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-06-30t01:10:18	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/863562450345875/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-06-29t20:57:44	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/863501090352011/	social inequality	negative	photo
2015-06-29t15:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/863243973711056/	violence	negative	link
2015-06-29t10:30:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/863247560377364/	life in the favelas	neutral	photo
2015-06-28t19:32:02	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/863129010389219/	general	positive	photo
2015-06-27t20:19:51	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/862654787103308/	violence	negative	video
2015-06-27t15:11:50	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/862566840445436/	violence	negative	photo
2015-06-27t10:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/862410770461043/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-06-27t00:00:59	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/862349880467132/	general	positive	photo
2015-06-26t14:51:43	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/862196227149164/	violence	negative	photo
2015-06-26t00:48:40	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/862019873833466/	violence	negative	status
2015-06-25t20:34:27	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/861964063839047/	violence	negative	photo
2015-06-25t18:57:05	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/861940777174709/	violence	negative	video
2015-06-24t22:31:10	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/861620190540101/	violence	negative	photo

2015-06-24t12:49:17	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/861423657226421/	culture	positive	photo
2015-06-24t10:06:17	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/861385223896931/	violence	negative	video
2015-06-23t15:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/860691330632987/	culture	positive	photo
2015-06-23t00:40:51	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/860866623948791/	violence	negative	photo
2015-06-22t17:50:41	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/860711677297619/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-06-21t10:30:19	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/860146600687460/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-06-18t21:28:57	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/859099427458844/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-06-18t13:54:14	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/858923790809741/	general	negative	photo
2015-06-18t12:09:17	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/858901827478604/	violence	negative	link
2015-06-18t02:42:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/858780987490688/	violence	negative	status
2015-06-18t02:24:03	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/858777417491045/	violence	negative	status
2015-06-18t02:06:36	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/858773184158135/	violence	negative	status
2015-06-15t09:51:31	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/857699340932186/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-06-12t15:18:37	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/856726741029446/	social inequality	negative	photo
2015-06-12t10:47:53	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/856614391040681/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-06-11t14:00:03	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/856257604409693/	general	negative	status
2015-06-10t15:34:49	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/855922481109872/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-06-09t20:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/854535521248568/	culture	positive	status
2015-06-09t15:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/854507407918046/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-06-08t13:46:07	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/855045884530865/	general	negative	status
2015-06-08t12:22:29	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/855027217866065/	general	negative	link
2015-06-08t05:32:41	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/854946224540831/	violence	negative	status
2015-06-	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/854946224540831/	violence	negative	photo

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2015-06-07t15:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/854577977910989/	violence	negative	photo
2015-06-07t03:18:30	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/854550094580444/	violence	negative	status
2015-06-05t16:41:42	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/853959991306121/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-06-04t23:28:15	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/853488421353278/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-06-04t14:00:28	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/853223271379793/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-06-04t10:22:09	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/853159558052831/	life in the favelas	negative	status
2015-06-04t02:43:04	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/852982444737209/	violence	negative	status
2015-06-04t01:13:54	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/852964414739012/	violence	negative	status
2015-06-03t19:20:25	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/852881664747287/	general	negative	status
2015-06-02t23:20:16	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/852599588108828/	violence	negative	status
2015-06-02t21:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/852556538113133/	police violence	negative	video
2015-06-02t02:48:01	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/852234058145381/	violence	negative	status
2015-06-01t16:03:23	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/851963944839059/	police violence	negative	video
2015-06-01t10:12:05	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/851875844847869/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-05-31t15:31:55	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/851434121558708/	favelas history	positive	photo
2015-05-31t11:16:16	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/851305661571554/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-05-31t02:39:52	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/851092654926188/	violence	neutral	status
2015-05-30t15:43:59	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/850793628289424/	violence	negative	photo
2015-05-30t01:31:12	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/850319338336853/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-29t22:16:01	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/850235055011948/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-29t20:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/850200355015418/	social inequality	positive	photo
2015-05-29t15:46:10	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/850132261688894/	social inequality	negative	video

2015-05-29t08:43:53	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/849928431709277/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-05-28t22:52:02	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/849476511754469/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-05-28t20:30:35	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/849365075098946/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-05-28t08:43:03	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/849060401796080/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-05-28t04:51:59	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/848853481816772/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-05-27t23:26:47	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/848796098489177/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-05-27t09:44:59	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/848605995174854/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-05-27t01:34:13	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/848434715191982/	violence	negative	video
2015-05-26t14:44:17	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/848243878544399/	culture	positive	photo
2015-05-25t20:51:28	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/847801681921952/	general	negative	photo
2015-05-25t18:36:11	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/847753938593393/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-25t16:40:40	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/847727945262659/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-25t16:21:05	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/847714051930715/	police violence	negative	video
2015-05-25t16:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/847195855315868/	violence	negative	photo
2015-05-25t13:24:25	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/847668938601893/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-24t23:22:46	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/847484231953697/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-05-24t16:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/847199821982138/	violence	negative	photo
2015-05-24t13:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/847199241982196/	police violence	negative	status
2015-05-24t04:58:04	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/847203918648395/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-24t01:14:38	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/847143121987808/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-23t15:31:04	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/846999798668807/	culture	positive	photo
2015-05-23t12:57:54	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/846947085340745/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/846947085340745/	life in the favelas	negative	photo

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2015-05-22t22:21:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/846758092026311/	life in the favelas	neutral	photo
2015-05-22t16:05:31	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/846669845368469/	general	negative	photo
2015-05-22t10:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/846471028721684/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-22t03:54:20	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/846462842055836/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-21t22:23:57	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/846368865398567/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-05-21t11:55:45	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/846202022081918/	life in the favelas	neutral	photo
2015-05-20t23:00:00	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/846037538765033/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-05-20t19:08:39	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/845986595436794/	general	positive	photo
2015-05-20t02:08:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/845786208790166/	police violence	negative	status
2015-05-19t19:08:02	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/845683418800445/	government actions	negative	photo
2015-05-19t11:25:53	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/845547548814032/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-19t04:51:54	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/845481365487317/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-19t04:48:34	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/845480968820690/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-19t02:35:40	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/845457445489709/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-05-18t22:30:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/845364705498983/	violence	negative	photo
2015-05-18t19:37:38	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/84532655502798/	culture	positive	status
2015-05-18t12:55:50	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/845208575514596/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-17t17:13:46	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/844923015543152/	violence	negative	photo
2015-05-17t13:35:51	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/844860852216035/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-17t12:00:14	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/844830212219099/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-17t12:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/844728098895977/	life in the favelas	negative	status
2015-05-17t00:50:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/844673965568057/	violence	negative	status

2015-05-17t00:33:22	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/844671375568316/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-16t11:13:58	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/844398048928982/	violence	negative	video
2015-05-16t01:25:18	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/844082958960491/	violence	negative	photo
2015-05-15t16:11:15	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/843948652307255/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-15t15:39:30	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/843942062307914/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-15t15:28:53	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/843938948974892/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-14t23:51:45	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/843745388994248/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-14t20:22:45	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/843689162333204/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-05-14t13:52:23	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/843551105680343/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-14t00:59:30	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/843366712365449/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-05-14t00:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/843345062367614/	violence	negative	photo
2015-05-13t22:02:03	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/843327345702719/	general	positive	status
2015-05-13t19:51:28	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/843264939042293/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-13t14:13:34	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/843181149050672/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-13t12:30:14	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/843159322386188/	social inequality	negative	status
2015-05-13t09:27:06	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/843127332389387/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-13t00:43:34	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/843038692398251/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-05-12t18:20:47	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/842906202411500/	general	positive	photo
2015-05-11t23:02:33	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/842663039102483/	culture	positive	video
2015-05-11t17:57:19	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/842587159110071/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-11t12:18:00	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/842481882453932/	violence	negative	link
2015-05-11t11:26:47	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/842470429121744/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-05-	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/842470429121744/	violence	negative	status

10t10:57:46	732147/posts/842067669162020/			
2015-05-10t09:25:19	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/842037262498394/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-09t12:49:07	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/841750315860422/	culture	positive	status
2015-05-09t00:11:27	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/841600059208781/	culture	positive	photo
2015-05-08t20:57:23	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/841551722546948/	general	neutral	photo
2015-05-08t20:12:40	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/841542579214529/	general	negative	status
2015-05-08t19:10:54	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/841530219215765/	general	negative	status
2015-05-08t16:56:36	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/841493715886082/	favelas history	positive	photo
2015-05-07t17:28:15	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/841149295920524/	violence	negative	photo
2015-05-07t11:00:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/840925782609542/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-05-06t18:24:53	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/840806395954814/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-05-05t19:12:41	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/840517842650336/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-05t10:14:57	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/840382012663919/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-05-04t23:54:07	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/840164602685660/	police violence	negative	status
2015-05-04t11:31:46	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/839836209385166/	violence	negative	status
2015-05-02t11:53:18	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/839011399467647/	social inequality	negative	photo
2015-05-01t18:20:18	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/838794479489339/	general	negative	status
2015-05-01t09:34:42	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/838642422837878/	life in the favelas	neutral	status
2015-04-30t11:55:13	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/838340076201446/	general	negative	photo
2015-04-29t16:38:37	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/837997979568989/	violence	negative	status
2015-04-29t14:03:16	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/837947559574031/	social inequality	negative	photo
2015-04-29t12:36:08	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/837919226243531/	violence	negative	status
2015-04-29t02:28:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/837785542923566/	violence	positive	link

2015-04-27t22:20:59	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/837318799636907/	social inequality	negative	photo
2015-04-27t20:22:35	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/837290876306366/	social inequality	negative	status
2015-04-27t12:19:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/837137262988394/	general	negative	photo
2015-04-26t20:54:44	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/836896429679144/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-04-26t11:38:57	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/836697483032372/	life in the favelas	neutral	link
2015-04-26t09:59:48	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/836671173035003/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-04-25t18:00:41	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/836339086401545/	violence	negative	status
2015-04-25t15:54:02	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/836295876405866/	culture	positive	photo
2015-04-25t14:39:23	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/836273756408078/	culture	positive	status
2015-04-25t13:18:27	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/836247409744046/	violence	negative	status
2015-04-24t13:59:42	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/835838956451558/	general	negative	link
2015-04-23t04:02:37	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/835205419848245/	violence	negative	status
2015-04-22t17:30:57	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/834983139870473/	social inequality	negative	photo
2015-04-22t16:44:00	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/834959133206207/	general	negative	link
2015-04-22t01:13:06	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/834735913228529/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-04-21t17:40:52	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/834604553241665/	general	positive	link
2015-04-19t16:34:20	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/833523946683059/	government actions	negative	status
2015-04-19t15:14:40	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/833497730019014/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-04-17t19:50:46	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/832780803424040/	culture	positive	video
2015-04-17t17:44:20	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/832730313429089/	culture	positive	video
2015-04-17t14:10:04	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/832656123436508/	life in the favelas	neutral	photo
2015-04-17t02:42:06	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/832445726790881/	favelas history	positive	photo
2015-04-	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/832445726790881/	violence	negative	photo

14t22:22:17	732147/posts/831585283543592/			
2015-04-14t21:10:18	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/831567330212054/	violence	negative	status
2015-04-14t20:01:51	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/831548446880609/	violence	negative	status
2015-04-13t15:37:16	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/830993546936099/	violence	negative	status
2015-04-11t02:09:03	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/830015390367248/	favelas history	positive	video
2015-04-09t16:00:42	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/829393137096140/	violence	negative	status
2015-04-09t15:31:01	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/829384380430349/	general	negative	photo
2015-04-08t15:19:58	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/828985293803591/	government actions	negative	photo
2015-04-07t00:17:31	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/828378067197647/	culture	positive	photo
2015-04-06t00:49:42	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/827984987236955/	general	negative	photo
2015-04-04t21:20:08	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/827471117288342/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-04-03t17:02:59	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/827009830667804/	government actions	negative	status
2015-04-03t11:04:57	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/826863317349122/	violence	negative	status
2015-04-03t04:14:47	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/826767110692076/	general	negative	status
2015-04-03t02:40:42	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/826732657362188/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-03-31t19:55:36	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/825826554119465/	social inequality	positive	status
2015-03-31t15:48:53	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/825750284127092/	social inequality	negative	status
2015-03-27t20:45:38	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/824315144270606/	culture	positive	photo
2015-03-27t18:53:20	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/824286720940115/	social inequality	negative	link
2015-03-26t14:37:28	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/823811760987611/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-03-24t15:15:45	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/822672641101523/	violence	negative	video
2015-03-23t16:55:01	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/822311977804256/	police violence	negative	video
2015-03-23t16:21:23	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/822303311138456/	police violence	negative	photo

2015-03-23t12:12:09	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/822219251146862/	culture	positive	photo
2015-03-22t13:54:39	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/821844681184319/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-03-21t20:06:06	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/821588484543272/	social inequality	negative	video
2015-03-21t06:20:34	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/821380747897379/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-03-20t19:28:39	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/821087897926664/	life in the favelas	positive	photo
2015-03-20t16:27:09	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/821035974598523/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-03-16t12:06:40	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/818982761470511/	violence	negative	video
2015-03-15t14:57:05	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/818538361514951/	violence	negative	status
2015-03-15t14:40:14	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/818533374848783/	general	negative	photo
2015-03-15t14:28:21	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/818530174849103/	general	negative	status
2015-03-15t13:57:55	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/818520781516709/	violence	negative	status
2015-03-14t15:44:08	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/818107051558082/	violence	negative	status
2015-03-14t15:11:50	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/818085321560255/	favelas history	positive	video
2015-03-14t15:06:17	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/818093684892752/	violence	negative	status
2015-03-14t14:58:20	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/818090534893067/	violence	negative	status
2015-03-14t14:49:50	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/818088308226623/	violence	negative	status
2015-03-14t02:20:12	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/817871004915020/	violence	negative	status
2015-03-12t14:59:31	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/817165944985526/	violence	negative	photo
2015-03-12t13:53:04	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/817139991654788/	violence	negative	video
2015-03-12t12:07:25	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/817088241659963/	violence	negative	status
2015-03-11t21:14:58	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/816817495020371/	violence	negative	photo
2015-03-11t03:28:51	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/816460908389363/	violence	negative	status
2015-03-	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/816460908389363/	violence	negative	photo

10t11:50:04	732147/posts/816192848416169/			
2015-03-09t18:20:26	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/815937565108364/	violence	negative	video
2015-03-08t14:16:44	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/815353075166813/	general	positive	photo
2015-03-07t17:16:05	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/815004091868378/	general	positive	status
2015-03-06t19:07:26	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/814515321917255/	general	negative	status
2015-03-04t14:41:30	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/813637455338375/	violence	negative	status
2015-03-04t02:26:35	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/813478112020976/	violence	negative	status
2015-03-03t18:49:59	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/813330175369103/	violence	negative	status
2015-03-03t18:06:53	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/813317152037072/	violence	negative	status
2015-03-02t14:39:34	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/812865515415569/	violence	negative	status
2015-02-28t15:43:59	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/812079972160790/	police violence	negative	link
2015-02-27t17:00:56	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/811747195527401/	violence	negative	status
2015-02-27t13:49:44	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/811666982202089/	violence	negative	status
2015-02-27t10:08:56	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/811610372207750/	general	negative	photo
2015-02-26t20:21:57	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/811290842239703/	violence	negative	link
2015-02-26t17:16:11	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/811241702244617/	police violence	negative	video
2015-02-26t17:00:40	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/811237232245064/	violence	negative	status
2015-02-26t12:00:29	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/811154042253383/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-02-25t20:18:55	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/810728278962626/	violence	negative	status
2015-02-25t19:46:12	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/810704902298297/	violence	negative	status
2015-02-25t18:30:12	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/810676722301115/	violence	negative	photo
2015-02-25t18:26:13	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/810675285634592/	violence	negative	status
2015-02-25t18:19:16	https://www.facebook.com/732147/posts/810672548968199/	violence	negative	status

2015-02-25t16:30:04	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/810643298971124/	police violence	negative	status
2015-02-25t15:10:06	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/810621028973351/	police violence	negative	link
2015-02-24t15:53:28	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/810160982352689/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-02-24t14:46:41	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/810097762359011/	life in the favelas	negative	status
2015-02-24t14:31:29	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/810083865693734/	violence	negative	status
2015-02-23t22:55:54	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/809859225716198/	violence	negative	video
2015-02-23t17:13:16	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/809751069060347/	violence	negative	status
2015-02-23t16:58:59	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/809745475727573/	violence	negative	status
2015-02-21t12:36:57	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/808841502484637/	violence	negative	status
2015-02-20t22:29:13	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/808596732509114/	culture	positive	video
2015-02-20t16:30:59	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/808480135854107/	violence	negative	video
2015-02-20t14:29:08	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/808441029191351/	violence	negative	status
2015-02-19t14:05:55	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/807963862572401/	violence	negative	link
2015-02-17t00:25:43	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/806870956015025/	culture	positive	status
2015-02-15t22:37:11	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/805913506110770/	social inequality	negative	status
2015-02-14t17:30:10	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/805009739534480/	police violence	negative	link
2015-02-13t15:20:54	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/804146492954138/	government actions	negative	status
2015-02-13t13:56:33	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/804120966290024/	violence	negative	link
2015-02-12t11:46:25	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/803302296371891/	violence	negative	status
2015-02-11t11:06:57	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/802680809767373/	social inequality	negative	status
2015-02-08t04:05:32	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/800267380008716/	life in the favelas	neutral	photo
2015-02-07t16:37:10	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/799848106717310/	violence	negative	link
2015-02-	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/799848106717310/	general	negative	status

07t16:22:53	732147/posts/799844793384308/			
2015-02-04t22:56:10	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/798412010194253/	social inequality	negative	status
2015-02-04t02:40:19	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/798105363558251/	violence	negative	video
2015-02-04t00:49:37	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/798079086894212/	violence	negative	photo
2015-02-03t17:58:24	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/797954303573357/	life in the favelas	negative	status
2015-01-31t10:43:48	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/796385390396915/	government actions	negative	link
2015-01-31t08:17:33	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/796352727066848/	violence	negative	status
2015-01-29t19:26:51	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/795730923795695/	violence	negative	video
2015-01-29t18:09:13	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/795710893797698/	violence	negative	status
2015-01-29t03:31:42	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/795500413818746/	life in the favelas	positive	video
2015-01-29t02:21:25	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/795488293819958/	life in the favelas	negative	status
2015-01-29t01:26:55	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/795475833821204/	police violence	negative	status
2015-01-24t23:29:09	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/793834780651976/	police violence	negative	photo
2015-01-24t22:35:04	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/793818697320251/	police violence	negative	video
2015-01-22t14:54:28	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/792819127420208/	general	negative	status
2015-01-22t10:58:35	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/792739857428135/	government actions	negative	link
2015-01-21t20:52:02	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/792557544113033/	police violence	negative	video
2015-01-21t15:00:17	https://www.facebook.com/marevive/videos/792459037456217/	violence	negative	video
2015-01-20t14:09:00	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/791887840846670/	violence	negative	photo
2015-01-20t14:00:17	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/791884094180378/	violence	negative	photo
2015-01-20t12:17:46	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/791856894183098/	violence	negative	status
2015-01-19t17:28:09	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/791563717545749/	general	negative	status
2015-01-18t22:52:26	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/790891870946267/	violence	negative	photo

2015-01-18t20:32:46	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/790850990950355/	police violence	negative	status
2015-01-16t14:13:45	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/790047001030754/	general	negative	status
2015-01-15t22:58:33	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/789820434386744/	general	negative	status
2015-01-14t21:53:42	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/789389901096464/	life in the favelas	positive	status
2015-01-13t19:41:22	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/788951661140288/	life in the favelas	negative	photo
2015-01-10t17:37:52	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/787645514604236/	violence	negative	photo
2015-01-09t15:12:43	https://www.facebook.com/656366417732147/posts/787142351321219/	violence	negative	status

APPENDIX 8 – LIST OF WORDS FROM VOZ DA COMUNIDADE’S WORD CLOUD

*The Words “São” (Are) And “Que” (That) Were Excluded From The List

Times it appeared	Words	Times it appeared	Words	Times it appeared	Words
264	Alemão	4	escolar	2	Juventude
135	Complexo	4	Estados	2	Professor
108	dia	4	outubro	2	Caldeirão
101	moradores	4	Canitar	2	blindados
84	Voz	4	vítimas	2	Fernandes
83	comunidade	4	reunião	2	operadora
60	já	4	unidade	2	pesquisas
53	momento	4	ouvidos	2	encontram
47	sua	4	Enviada	2	Caratoira
46	Comunidade	4	eventos	2	Realidade
41	Rio	4	Fashion	2	Amanhecer
40	nos	4	Comlurb	2	madrugada
39	pouco	4	diante	2	realizada
39	hoje	4	acordo	2	tranquila
38	Grota	4	quarta	2	acontecem
37	Itararé	4	Parque	2	simbólico
37	noite	4	cinema	2	responder
36	essa	4	Arraia	2	Santander
35	Repórter	4	branco	2	concursos
35	anos	4	Mastra	2	encontrar
35	pra	4	filmes	2	procissão

34	Nova	4	enviou	2	Sebastião
33	pela	4	deixou	2	irregular
32	até	4	PAZcoa	2	publicada
31	Jornal	4	Fiquem	2	Esperamos
30	comunidades	4	Thiago	2	acreditar
29	Brasília	4	partes	2	conseguir
29	local	4	velas	2	diferença
29	vai	4	Igreja	2	entregues
28	Favela	4	livros	2	mostrando
28	sobre	4	abaixo	2	divertida
27	informações	4	Faltam	2	marcantes
27	crianças	4	inicia	2	Produções
27	nossa	4	Cinema	2	resultado
27	Hoje	4	muitas	2	conteúdos
26	evento	4	contou	2	galerinha
26	Morro	4	Sergio	2	matrícula
25	nesse	4	altura	2	diferente
24	Estrada	4	contra	2	condições
24	Vila	4	espera	2	respostas
24	será	4	total	2	Palestras
23	WhatsApp	4	morto	2	currículo
23	Segundo	4	Bahia	2	depilação
23	jornal	4	Areal	2	liberação
23	Já	4	vista	2	esperando
22	gente	4	teria	2	fevereiro
22	todo	4	final	2	socorrida
22	esse	4	Deixe	2	conversar
22	casa	4	carro	2	requeijão
22	aos	4	mesma	2	principal
22	às	4	natal	2	começando
21	Moradores	4	saúde	2	primeiros
21	entre	4	favor	2	município
20	Janeiro	4	sonho	2	deveriam
20	entrada	4	cinco	2	carnaval
20	próximo	4	ouvir	2	possamos
20	grande	4	aulas	2	montagem
20	edição	4	minha	2	shopping
20	ano	4	fazem	2	abertura
20	via	4	lixos	2	seguinte
20	Ài	4	chuva	2	mandando
20	ÉO	4	Noite	2	enviadas
19	teleférico	4	menos	2	VozAno10
19	tiroteio	4	Ainda	2	Andressa

19	morador	4	ponto	2	milhares
18	contato	4	Tiago	2	Casinhas
18	região	4	pelos	2	Santiago
18	frente	4	campo	2	Incêndio
18	conta	4	morte	2	curtindo
18	palco	4	peças	2	conteúdo
18	nesta	4	serão	2	continue
18	neste	4	Cerca	2	cobrindo
18	Rene	4	show	2	prejuízo
18	foto	4	tema	2	carência
18	Rua	4	dona	2	bastante
18	nas	4	Lexa	2	direitos
17	incêndio	4	obra	2	questões
17	Imagens	4	João	2	públicos
17	Atenção	4	amor	2	impressa
17	favela	4	rede	2	favelada
17	grupo	4	Zona	2	exemplar
17	manhã	4	alto	2	Internet
17	seus	4	Olha	2	Especial
17	dias	4	indo	2	Adicione
17	toda	4	link	2	enfeitou
17	Boa	4	nada	2	Impresso
17	Que	4	logo	2	favorito
17	há	4	Show	2	detalhes
17	lá	4	UPP	2	passeata
16	Alvorada	4	Até	2	recheada
16	outros	4	dar	2	suspenso
16	vocês	4	sol	2	chegamos
16	tarde	4	nia	2	Confirme
16	ONG	4	üëè	2	Clientes
15	estação	4	uso	2	retornar
15	amigos	4	Oca	2	acabando
15	suas	4	10h	2	circular
15	mil	4	17h	2	Situação
14	Olímpica	4	Só	2	passavam
14	intenso	3	Pintan do7No Alema o	2	ventania
14	projeto	3	desaparecimen to	2	produtos

14	número	3	Arraiadoalema o	2	garantiu
14	partir	3	PazcoaNoAle mao	2	Cristina
14	equipe	3	ArraiáDoAlem ão	2	arquivos
14	Arraiá	3	PAZcoaNoAle mão	2	baleados
14	falta	3	abastecimento	2	pessoais
14	tiros	3	trabalhadores	2	curtidas
14	Feliz	3	segunda-feira	2	informou
14	ainda	3	movimentação	2	Facebook
14	após	3	atendimentos	2	montando
13	ComplexodoA lemão	3	supermercado	2	embarque
13	Obrigado	3	distribuindo	2	dezembro
13	campanha	3	tradicionais	2	tornando
13	semana	3	dificuldades	2	famílias
13	locais	3	estacionados	2	funciona
13	feira	3	participação	2	Aguardem
13	todas	3	Aprendizagem	2	explosão
13	Bento	3	MaesDoAlem ao	2	Workshop
13	tudo	3	arrecadação	2	Defensor
13	fogo	3	voluntários	2	clientes
13	seja	3	comunitário	2	serviços
13	luz	3	residencias	2	Endereço
12	realizado	3	comprovante	2	registro
12	Criativa	3	Convivência	2	Caravana
12	Estamos	3	Democrático	2	promoção
12	família	3	fotografia	2	Direitos
12	galera	3	convidados	2	carteira
12	Brasil	3	Descolados	2	Carteira
12	escola	3	Secretaria	2	infantis
12	Adeus	3	movimentar	2	Vinicius
12	Nossa	3	condomínio	2	demandas
12	casas	3	Engenheiro	2	calçadas
12	Vamos	3	preparando	2	Pintando
12	Vídeo	3	acontecerá	2	destaque
12	linda	3	comemorado	2	Mocidade
12	nova	3	Beija-Flor	2	OBRIGAD O
12	além	3	TamoJunto	2	adequada

12	Dia	3	vacinação	2	problema
11	vozdacomunidade	3	população	2	aumentar
11	Teleférico	3	mensagens	2	telefone
11	Tamojunto	3	apresenta	2	Conjunto
11	VozAnoDez	3	excelente	2	diversão
11	história	3	caminhada	2	Oliveira
11	moradora	3	qualidade	2	elemento
11	segundo	3	pedestres	2	tragédia
11	enviada	3	confirmou	2	edições
11	sociais	3	registrou	2	Central
11	depois	3	novamente	2	Tivemos
11	acesso	3	amanheceu	2	criador
11	página	3	sertanejo	2	receita
11	começa	3	homenagem	2	empadão
11	Silva	3	brincando	2	Redução
11	vamos	3	realidade	2	pedindo
11	redes	3	Começamos	2	vitimas
11	daqui	3	comércios	2	alcance
11	foram	3	fotografo	2	ansioso
11	desse	3	Movimento	2	Garanta
11	mora	3	exposição	2	conosco
11	pro	3	viabiliza	2	leitura
11	só	3	Prevenção	2	podemos
10	diversos	3	tiroteios	2	tivemos
10	impresso	3	presentes	2	racismo
10	especial	3	Brasilia	2	doenças
10	domingo	3	nacional	2	direção
10	desfile	3	intenção	2	solução
10	URGENTE	3	coletiva	2	quantas
10	através	3	encontro	2	Reunião
10	doações	3	assistir	2	oferece
10	ajudar	3	diversas	2	entorno
10	sábado	3	parceria	2	horário
10	início	3	usuários	2	artista
10	Carlos	3	Coletivo	2	Segunda
10	mundo	3	aprender	2	cenário
10	Fabio	3	vizinhos	2	pararam
10	sendo	3	reclamam	2	exibido
10	área	3	aguardam	2	pequeno
10	isso	3	atingido	2	motivos
10	mães	3	produção	2	meninas
10	Faça	3	olímpica	2	futebol

10	rua	3	Travessa	2	Conheça
10	aí	3	iniciado	2	relatam
9	circuitofavelac riativa	3	Ferreira	2	montada
9	ArraiaDoAlem ao2015	3	policial	2	Ethiene
9	localidade	3	celebrar	2	nublado
9	presença	3	Cultural	2	Marcelo
9	complexo	3	economia	2	começar
9	leitores	3	acidente	2	Sociais
9	minutos	3	possível	2	Comente
9	Sabrina	3	Curumins	2	poderia
9	chegou	3	atrativo	2	colisão
9	melhor	3	Segurado	2	lembrar
9	chegar	3	episódio	2	justiça
9	Penha	3	Crianças	2	Crescer
9	muita	3	centenas	2	condena
9	jovem	3	repórter	2	assalto
9	ATENÇ	3	baleadas	2	sorteio
9	site	3	reunidos	2	barulho
9	Leia	3	protesto	2	fizemos
9	ter	3	suspensa	2	abençoe
9	vão	3	estimado	2	véspera
9	mês	3	Carnaval	2	sabemos
8	VozdaComuni dade	3	Helcimar	2	cerveja
8	Vozdacomuni dade	3	conferir	2	ninguém
8	distribuição	3	formando	2	simples
8	Defensoria	3	mulheres	2	estejam
8	COMUNIDA DE	3	enfeites	2	sexuais
8	problemas	3	Popozuda	2	poderão
8	policiais	3	Shopping	2	opinião
8	criançada	3	Cassiano	2	Getúlio
8	Whatsapp	3	Nacional	2	vitória
8	Castilho	3	debater	2	sábados
8	internet	3	Lanches	2	andando
8	começou	3	Eduardo	2	Sorriso
8	estrada	3	conhece	2	UNISUAM
8	Pública	3	passeio	2	vizinho
8	estamos	3	Ribeiro	2	cliente
8	Santos	3	veiculo	2	ficaram
8	Maria	3	torneio	2	sistema

8	Praça	3	estavam	2	levados
8	lindo	3	Rodrigo	2	Família
8	volta	3	feridas	2	Letícia
8	grotas	3	tiveram	2	realiza
8	Ligue	3	entrega	2	batalha
8	desta	3	pequena	2	brincar
8	Temos	3	sucesso	2	reclama
8	Ramos	3	escolha	2	baleada
8	pelas	3	Porchat	2	Confira
8	troca	3	própria	2	fechada
8	Deus	3	pegando	2	aumenta
8	ação	3	Twitter	2	Belford
8	Esse	3	sentido	2	deseja
8	meio	3	sapucaí	2	saíram
8	ruas	3	dizendo	2	Grande
8	Vem	3	adultos	2	Garoto
8	VOZ	3	ouvindo	2	iremos
8	UPA	3	Vanessa	2	minuto
8	deu	3	fizeram	2	Cidade
8	paz	3	marcado	2	lançar
8	Paz	3	Clareou	2	saindo
8	né	3	atingiu	2	cheiro
7	CircuitoFavela Criativa	3	Camargo	2	esgoto
7	Pintando7NoA leão	3	Luciano	2	Amigos
7	quarta-feira	3	Outubro	2	menina
7	Comunidades	3	seguida	2	começo
7	acontecendo	3	querida	2	Partiu
7	informação	3	dúvidas	2	estilo
7	brinquedos	3	reforço	2	contas
7	circulação	3	baleado	2	curtiu
7	manutenção	3	polícia	2	Lilian
7	felicidade	3	segunda	2	vazias
7	atividades	3	favelas	2	contar
7	militares	3	atração	2	dessas
7	FalaJovem	3	feridos	2	Castro
7	violência	3	público	2	Márcio
7	Palmeiras	3	Reforço	2	ferido
7	Pizzaria	3	Escolar	2	perdeu
7	whatsapp	3	Valesca	2	passou
7	Parabéns	3	inhaúma	2	brinde
7	mensagem	3	Baiana	2	seguir

7	primeiro	3	evitem	2	postes
7	veículos	3	alguém	2	quanto
7	liberado	3	alguma	2	cobrir
7	disparos	3	Mulher	2	lanche
7	continua	3	mostra	2	nasceu
7	parabéns	3	Itaóca	2	Uranos
7	completa	3	nossas	2	riscos
7	leitora	3	Escola	2	roupas
7	cartões	3	metros	2	fortes
7	redação	3	bombas	2	parado
7	matéria	3	Urbana	2	filmar
7	intensa	3	embora	2	vencer
7	energia	3	famoso	2	cartaz
7	durante	3	Contra	2	nenhum
7	carinho	3	pedido	2	triste
7	fazendo	3	esteja	2	mamães
7	escolas	3	vários	2	Parece
7	vídeos	3	juntos	2	social
7	quadra	3	Teatro	2	perfis
7	Hector	3	Edição	2	árvore
7	Amanhã	3	doação	2	virada
7	jovens	3	Vargas	2	voltou
7	outras	3	Carnes	2	maluco
7	imagem	3	tirada	2	Arthur
7	sempre	3	ganhou	2	entrou
7	visita	3	festas	2	reunir
7	forte	3	direto	2	formou
7	ficar	3	Evento	2	estudo
7	ngulo	3	enorme	2	sentem
7	vídeo	3	Manoel	2	acabam
7	dessa	3	rotina	2	Barros
7	feito	3	teriam	2	doados
7	ajuda	3	fontes	2	Record
7	Nesse	3	chamas	2	causar
7	Natal	3	Bulufa	2	fumaça
7	amiga	3	evitar	2	pronto
7	quase	3	Depois	2	Menino
7	Entre	3	Equipe	2	Começa
7	fica	3	voltar	2	afinal
7	frio	3	devido	2	faltam
7	duas	3	afirma	2	chegue
7	üòÅ	3	casais	2	cantor
7	vem	3	mortos	2	perder

7	üò	3	curtir	2	França
6	ArraiaDoAlem ao	3	nossos	2	prazer
6	LEOPOLDIN ENSE	3	ocorre	2	ganhar
6	Conhecimento	3	cidade	2	quiser
6	comentários	3	recado	2	Hélder
6	responsável	3	Denize	2	pronta
6	comunicação	3	Sonora	2	contam
6	IMPERATRIZ	3	centro	2	Isabel
6	guerreiras	3	Centro	2	amados
6	participar	3	Social	2	Rebeca
6	Fotografia	3	emoção	2	descer
6	Entregamos	3	música	2	seguem
6	chocolates	3	FAVELA	2	vender
6	aconteceu	3	Educap	2	tensão
6	Aceitamos	3	Espaço	2	tempos
6	Domicílio	3	Raízes	2	tentou
6	Moura/Voz	3	Prêmio	2	sentir
6	histórias	3	menino	2	Glória
6	COMPLEXO	3	parou	2	quinta
6	agasalho	3	cabos	2	fechar
6	conhecer	3	maior	2	Tensão
6	Passinho	3	podem	2	deixar
6	momentos	3	envie	2	Moraes
6	acontece	3	Graça	2	Wagner
6	situação	3	email	2	antiga
6	operação	3	seria	2	Montes
6	falando	3	deixa	2	serem
6	cultura	3	cerca	2	razão
6	Speezza	3	corre	2	atuar
6	G.R.E.S	3	vagas	2	frase
6	América	3	Jesus	2	sofre
6	criança	3	Daqui	2	Capão
6	rolando	3	Cedae	2	rolar
6	Joaquim	3	deste	2	praia
6	Queiroz	3	disso	2	cheio
6	Avenida	3	coisa	2	lajes
6	próxima	3	pedem	2	Março
6	crédito	3	Reúne	2	Bando
6	pública	3	Esses	2	anima
6	veículo	3	visto	2	poste
6	ligados	3	fácil	2	dicas

6	notícia	3	corpo	2	banda
6	Governo	3	bomba	2	Conta
6	Jessica	3	chama	2	pegou
6	empresa	3	junto	2	saiba
6	maneira	3	Saiba	2	Norte
6	Acesse	3	ações	2	tenso
6	mandou	3	viver	2	causa
6	estava	3	pauta	2	perde
6	pontos	3	Luana	2	força
6	pessoa	3	Grupo	2	Raull
6	Unidos	3	Venha	2	folha
6	falar	3	civil	2	Bruno
6	lazer	3	Samba	2	saída
6	chega	3	filho	2	Vocês
6	feita	3	ótima	2	passa
6	calor	3	Lopes	2	Dessa
6	idade	3	meses	2	aluno
6	filme	3	praça	2	lixão
6	Pizza	3	clima	2	param
6	posto	3	circo	2	viram
6	lugar	3	União	2	lista
6	Largo	3	papai	2	Abreu
6	Dream	3	Neste	2	levar
6	assim	3	Assim	2	CEDAE
6	Quer	3	Naldo	2	Campo
6	Além	3	Benny	2	André
6	lado	3	sair	2	lojas
6	vida	3	medo	2	terão
6	esta	3	PELA	2	Penal
6	dela	3	Gari	2	Força
6	vivo	3	maio	2	moral
6	ALEM	3	mara	2	filha
6	Essa	3	Caio	2	ouviu
6	água	3	saiu	2	Áudio
6	WIFI	3	HOJE	2	tendo
6	etc	3	José	2	samba
6	vez	3	tiro	2	cheia
6	mãe	3	lixo	2	graça
6	Tá	3	Dona	2	Ordem
6	Há	3	sabe	2	Falta
6	üé	3	Peço	2	exato
5	acompanhando	3	cedo	2	Santo
5	terça-feira	3	Será	2	mamãe

5	Organização	3	Zezé	2	levou
5	iluminação	3	nota	2	grave
5	Jornalismo	3	Cadê	2	vidas
5	construída	3	pois	2	tanto
5	realizando	3	metr	2	Mande
5	Bonsucesso	3	çLIA	2	Paulo
5	familiares	3	luta	2	subir
5	Acompanhem	3	aula	2	grita
5	exemplares	3	alta	2	julho
5	presidente	3	dado	2	Banco
5	recebendo	3	caso	2	acaba
5	trabalhos	3	veio	2	morta
5	Municipal	3	Trio	2	Ontem
5	Aproveite	3	vir	2	algum
5	Duduzinho	3	üëä	2	largo
5	Acompanhe	3	vou	2	moram
5	Recebemos	3	Mãe	2	sexta
5	conjunto	3	Via	2	geral
5	chegando	3	Tri	2	Rocha
5	atrações	3	Doe	2	Huddy
5	Circuito	3	mau	2	Preto
5	PIZZARIA	3	fãs	2	cesta
5	gratuito	3	tão	2	Aline
5	Entregas	3	EST	2	roupa
5	objetivo	3	sim	2	pedir
5	Cruzeiro	3	üòÇ	2	única
5	Supervia	3	bar	2	tirou
5	entregar	3	Nos	2	Circo
5	atingida	3	vá	2	rádio
5	Públicos	3	TV	2	dados
5	Campanha	3	tá	2	tenda
5	receber	3	ùå	2	AJUDA
5	algumas	3	1	2	Aonde
5	precisa	2	jornalismo@v ozdascomunid ades.com.br	2	breve
5	relatos	2	Jornalismo@v ozdascomunid ades.com.br	2	Binho
5	Melissa	2	OrgulhodeSer Favela	2	feliz

5	perdido	2	ArraiádoAlem ão2015	2	tipos
5	enviado	2	IncentiveALei tura	2	Geisa
5	jornais	2	BrazilFoundati on	2	Pires
5	Cultura	2	desesperadam ente	2	grito
5	lugares	2	estacionament os	2	ramos
5	Favelas	2	OnsAfrikaIsHi er	2	verde
5	criado	2	cinematográfic o	2	Viana
5	espaço	2	principalmente	2	morro
5	passar	2	DiadoProfesso r	2	dança
5	Bastos	2	estacionament o	2	Fotos
5	carros	2	Leopoldinense	2	festa
5	amanhã	2	representando	2	risco
5	sofrem	2	Moto-taxistas	2	nsito
5	apenas	2	funcionamento	2	Corpo
5	debate	2	conscientizar	2	Nesta
5	terror	2	tranquilidade	2	vindo
5	guerra	2	distribuições	2	tenha
5	Brazil	2	apresentações	2	Filho
5	Curso	2	administração	2	Serra
5	becos	2	RenatoMoura RJ	2	serve
5	Corre	2	computadores	2	fome
5	segue	2	oportunidade	2	Tema
5	porta	2	documentário	2	funk
5	fotos	2	organizações	2	quer
5	super	2	manifestação	2	Rosa
5	esses	2	desaparecido	2	Roig
5	Envie	2	Organizações	2	café
5	forma	2	Bandeirantes	2	Pros
5	nunca	2	fiscalização	2	post
5	ficou	2	DESAPAREC IDA	2	fama
5	andar	2	necessidades	2	Nave

5	Pedra	2	apresentação	2	ator
5	Fábio	2	brincadeiras	2	atua
5	obras	2	concentração	2	Bike
5	Ponto	2	Carnaval2015	2	Park
5	Jovem	2	quinta-feira	2	país
5	apoio	2	desaparecida	2	arte
5	nessa	2	Reservatório	2	Huck
5	ontem	2	habitacional	2	peso
5	temos	2	criatividade	2	dura
5	Light	2	Associações	2	BOPE
5	nibus	2	Diversidade	2	terá
5	perto	2	chuveirinho	2	gato
5	Team	2	traficantes	2	saem
5	Após	2	cadastrados	2	doar
5	dele	2	protestando	2	modo
5	faça	2	desembarcam	2	rola
5	três	2	normalizada	2	Toda
5	real	2	15deOutubro	2	irmã
5	elas	2	repercussão	2	chão
5	liga	2	funcionário	2	Ação
5	sede	2	PAZnoAlemã	2	sido
5	Sapo	2	diariamente	2	diga
5	Fala	2	normalmente	2	Melo
5	Esta	2	aprendizado	2	Toca
5	hora	2	associações	2	Dias
5	mata	2	inauguração	2	Rede
5	PAZ	2	Informações	2	Logo
5	boa	2	completando	2	Capa
5	ato	2	pacificação	2	Lobo
5	dá	2	necessidade	2	Tudo
4	GospelLiveFes tival	2	professores	2	Seja
4	vozdacomuni dades	2	passageiros	2	lt;3
4	GuerraNoAle mão	2	PazNoAlemão	2	meta
4	RiodeJaneiro	2	PaznoAlemão	2	data
4	compartilhar	2	localidades	2	pipa
4	particulares	2	integrantes	2	peça
4	Photographer	2	Maioridade	2	Arte
4	comerciantes	2	Ministério	2	vias

4	funcionando	2	Condomínio	2	Sala
4	organização	2	resolvidos	2	Riko
4	tradicional	2	registrada	2	pulo
4	sexta-feira	2	promovendo	2	trás
4	comunitária	2	Manguinhos	2	CIEP
4	atendimento	2	construção	2	irem
4	Defensores	2	impossível	2	rsrs
4	Associação	2	visitantes	2	Caso
4	assistindo	2	abandonada	2	Roxo
4	inscrições	2	trajetória	2	Skol
4	Cannabrava	2	jornalista	2	Apê
4	lançamento	2	Biblioteca	2	19h
4	Prefeitura	2	americanos	2	üúú
4	acompanham	2	aguardavam	2	üüö
4	importante	2	realização	2	Sol
4	jornalismo	2	Realização	2	Doc
4	funcionar	2	Informação	2	ùşÔ
4	fotógrafo	2	Copacabana	2	era
4	arrecadar	2	acompanhar	2	Sul
4	segurança	2	diferentes	2	céu
4	Instituto	2	disponível	2	rio
4	novidades	2	permanecem	2	16h
4	Policiais	2	bilheteria	2	DIA
4	vazamento	2	Uruguaiana	2	SUA
4	Bielzinho	2	associação	2	FAM
4	Bombeiros	2	torcedores	2	R.J
4	ingressos	2	identidade	2	Ano
4	bombeiros	2	motoristas	2	nem
4	cantores	2	Imperatriz	2	Tel
4	SuperVia	2	precisando	2	Upa
4	interior	2	voznosamba	2	18h
4	gasolina	2	localizado	2	Tão
4	Snapchat	2	propagação	2	Use
4	encontra	2	artesanato	2	Mês
4	assustou	2	localizada	2	som
4	projetos	2	desmontado	2	tri
4	artistas	2	controlar	2	Aos
4	passando	2	Lembrando	2	Luz
4	obrigado	2	Instagram	2	15h
4	contando	2	Cidadania	2	üèΩ
4	alvorada	2	temporada	2	Dom
4	novembro	2	americano	2	voz
4	Hospital	2	pacientes	2	Upp

4	publico	2	Desejamos	2	Vai
4	Urgente	2	tranquilo	2	iES
4	Sapucai	2	obrigados	2	viu
4	passado	2	Contribua	2	par
4	Beatriz	2	denúncias	2	sou
4	bairros	2	escuridão	2	Cê
4	Estação	2	superação	2	pé
4	atuação			2	Dá
4	imagens			2	ás
2	Rodrigues			2	tv

APPENDIX 9 – LIST OF WORDS FROM COLETIVO PAPO RETO’S WORD CLOUD

*THE WORDS “SÃO” (ARE) AND “QUE” (THAT) WERE EXCLUDED FROM THE LIST

Times it appeared	Word	Times it appeared	Word	Times it appeared	Word
171	favela	4	demais	2	Ditadura
162	Alemão	4	Brazil	2	sofrendo
160	Complexo	4	vivido	2	reflexão
100	dia	4	Monica	2	CAUSADOS
79	nos	4	Centro	2	Coletiva
78	policial	4	futuro	2	explicar
66	moradores	4	Thainã	2	historia
65	pela	4	AMANHÃ	2	diversão
65	Papo	4	Sábado	2	primeira
63	Reto	4	Amigos	2	questões
62	FavelaSempre	4	carros	2	violação
56	pra	4	mortas	2	retirado
55	sua	4	chuvas	2	intitula
54	Coletivo	4	Apesar	2	Registro
50	ColetivoPapoReto	4	roubar	2	surfista
47	sobre	4	começa	2	utilizam
47	já	4	melhor	2	contexto
46	isso	4	sonhos	2	coletiva
42	ainda	4	Parque	2	passinho
41	CPX	4	diante	2	Maracanã
40	nossa	4	amanhã	2	panelaço
40	hoje	4	Nossos	2	ALCANÇAR

39	casa	4	vítima	2	Programa
39	essa	4	quente	2	Violador
39	tudo	4	ltimos	2	ridículo
38	NósporNós	4	acabar	2	atrasado
38	guerra	4	rotina	2	denuncia
38	só	4	canal	2	cruzeiro
36	SOSCPX	4	grotas	2	entrando
36	vida	4	lados	2	PATENTE
36	nas	4	ponto	2	TIROTEIO
35	jovens	4	ficou	2	revistas
34	Foto	4	pobre	2	passamos
34	Hoje	4	Dessa	2	elétrica
34	UPP	4	VIDAS	2	ENVOLVA M
34	rua	4	bonde	2	POSITIVO
33	polícia	4	causa	2	desceram
33	ter	4	série	2	Diversos
32	contra	4	expor	2	decorrer
31	momento	4	fácil	2	caminhos
31	vai	4	desta	2	enviadas
30	estamos	4	chuva	2	SEGUINDO
30	Carlos	4	levar	2	instante
30	até	4	Foram	2	desigual
29	tiros	4	Breve	2	intervir
29	Rio	4	sejam	2	Dinheiro
28	vamos	4	garis	2	liberado
28	sendo	4	apoio	2	correção
28	assim	4	olhos	2	prefeito
28	suas	4	baixo	2	informam
28	NÃO	4	Força	2	informou
27	violência	4	civil	2	refletir
27	situação	4	Campo	2	aplicada
27	estava	4	festa	2	correndo
27	nossos	4	ltimo	2	feminina
27	foram	4	rolar	2	aguentar
27	esse	4	grupo	2	Amarildo
27	seus	4	terão	2	corações
26	Brasil	4	Diego	2	expostos
25	direitos	4	vendo	2	comissão
25	morte	4	fundo	2	tentando
25	luta	4	Maria	2	MORREMO S
24	informações	4	ideia	2	abandono

24	morador	4	irmão	2	demandas
24	nossas	4	pelos	2	Theófilo
24	arte	4	Sobre	2	melhores
23	evento	4	olhar	2	mudanças
23	Vamos	4	união	2	NACIONAL
23	anos	4	indo	2	resolver
22	crianças	4	cedo	2	beirando
22	esta	4	Link	2	chamando
22	Que	4	dita	2	alimenta
21	galera	4	saia	2	próprias
21	tarde	4	Após	2	pacífica
21	Nova	4	MEIO	2	cantando
21	aos	4	ÁRIO	2	PARCERIA
20	diversas	4	Moto	2	pensadas
20	algumas	4	Saiu	2	ajudarem
20	Eduardo	4	rola	2	Crianças
20	temos	4	nico	2	pequenos
20	forma	4	ódio	2	ATUANTES
20	vocês	4	Ibis	2	acabaram
20	jovem	4	pula	2	daqueles
20	local	4	boca	2	violados
20	seja	4	mata	2	DIVERSAS
20	PAPO	4	Olha	2	chorando
19	coletivo	4	loja	2	Brasília
19	Estamos	4	pele	2	Confirmam
19	sempre	4	Luiz	2	lembrado
19	dessas	4	FUNK	2	CaioVive
19	manhã	4	faça	2	houveram
19	todo	4	país	2	realizar
19	nada	4	mano	2	CLAMAMOS
19	tiro	4	cena	2	EXIGINDO
19	ano	4	zona	2	Priscila
18	TáTudoErrado	4	RUA	2	INIMIGOS
18	Brasília	4	uso	2	serviços
18	tiroteio	4	via	2	Batalhão
18	criança	4	and	2	BEIRANDO
18	espaço	4	Pri	2	vivência
18	semana	4	SOS	2	hospital
18	pouco	4	19h	2	whatsapp
18	noite	4	CPP	2	Estadual
18	meio	4	cor	2	Cristina
17	família	4	17h	2	Thenjiwe

17	outros	4	Ano	2	McHarris
17	grande	4	etc	2	trazendo
17	somos	4	ás	2	perdidas
17	nessa	3	JuntosPelo Alemão	2	humildes
17	neste	3	responsabilidade	2	Salvador
17	carro	3	ColetivoPaporeto	2	nacional
17	hora	3	aproximadamente	2	Trindade
16	apenas	3	QuilomboFavela	2	clássico
16	cidade	3	compartilhando	2	caminhar
16	entre	3	Sub-comandante	2	parceria
16	nesse	3	Sub-Comandante	2	recortes
16	Penha	3	militarizaçã o	2	entraram
16	menos	3	moto-taxistas	2	bandidos
16	dias	3	transformador	2	garantia
16	Deus	3	profissionais	2	completo
16	vem	3	fortalecendo	2	famílias
16	vez	3	fisioterapia	2	sairemos
16	iES	3	covardemente	2	atentado
15	extermínio	3	visibilidade	2	memórias
15	segurança	3	Questiona-se	2	Beltrame
15	Coutinho	3	Pacificadora	2	impactos
15	direito	3	documentário	2	proposto
15	através	3	Independente	2	Produção
15	sangue	3	preconceitos	2	machismo
15	irmãos	3	metodologias	2	ocuparam

15	blica	3	infelizment e	2	sozinhos
15	Grota	3	resistências	2	MULHERES
15	força	3	profissional	2	Mulheres
15	mundo	3	Panfletage m	2	novembro
15	fica	3	paznoalemã o	2	Milhares
15	caso	3	ÁTUDOER RADO	2	inocente
15	Paz	3	FreddieGra y	2	artistas
15	Já	3	autoridades	2	Legítima
14	importante	3	importantes	2	tambores
14	Moradores	3	conversand o	2	aparecem
14	diversos	3	acontecera m	2	abordado
14	acontece	3	perseguição	2	Palmares
14	próximo	3	organizadas	2	resistir
14	Janeiro	3	Comunicaç ão	2	quilombo
14	sábado	3	companheir o	2	respeita
14	frente	3	conversamo s	2	Conversa
14	vários	3	Audiovisual	2	confusão
14	gente	3	mototaxista	2	Casinhas
14	final	3	programaçã o	2	horários
14	vídeo	3	atendimento	2	judicial
14	pelas	3	continuamo s	2	Olímpica
14	RETO	3	privacidade	2	recebido
14	ruas	3	principais	2	Pergunta
14	link	3	lamentável	2	prática
14	foto	3	conhecemos	2	fazerem
14	Vem	3	Museologia	2	devemos
14	QUE	3	GOVERNA DOR	2	PROIBIR
14	paz	3	apresentar	2	tortura
13	assassinado	3	entrevista	2	conheço
13	audiovisual	3	importamos	2	Rivaldo
13	aconteceu	3	Pacificado	2	Fizemos
13	cultura	3	imigrantes	2	comando

13	Segundo	3	impossível	2	suporte
13	precisa	3	aguardando	2	estados
13	partes	3	acompanhar	2	veremos
13	GUERRA	3	Manguinho s	2	Comando
13	esses	3	PapoRetoN Y	2	simples
13	conta	3	conivência	2	veículo
13	ações	3	Prefeitura	2	Ricardo
13	homem	3	integrante	2	Marcelo
13	pois	3	Comunidad e	2	discute
13	bala	3	Associação	2	relatar
13	sim	3	informaram	2	sabendo
13	Dia	3	TELEFéRI CO	2	Absurdo
13	há	3	escritório	2	Agência
12	FAVELASEM PRE	3	Identidade	2	agendas
12	resistência	3	atualizado	2	quantos
12	violações	3	construção	2	FAMILIA
12	realidade	3	divulgação	2	central
12	caminhada	3	verdadeira	2	Racismo
12	encontro	3	disponível	2	casinha
12	estavam	3	participar	2	LEVARAM
12	governo	3	incríveis	2	motivos
12	projeto	3	perguntas	2	desabou
12	amigos	3	primeiras	2	ciclone
12	morro	3	Audiência	2	EXEMPLO
12	desse	3	Tiroteios	2	sombrio
12	poder	3	sangrando	2	FEDERAL
12	minha	3	encontros	2	quebrar
12	casas	3	realizado	2	rodando
12	volta	3	Terezinha	2	estarão
12	junto	3	Cidadania	2	OUTUBRO
12	busca	3	indicados	2	Intenso
12	quer	3	começando	2	INTENSO
12	lado	3	Caminhada	2	daquilo
12	toda	3	agradecer	2	alegria
12	papo	3	políticas	2	Palácio
12	Cout	3	contenção	2	VALIOSO
12	caos	3	apontados	2	nascido
12	dar	3	Coletivos	2	Noronha
11	COLETIVOP	3	tranquilo	2	Pessoal

APORETO					
11	localidade	3	Apresenta	2	avanços
11	Movimento	3	rolezinho	2	recente
11	perdida	3	começamos	2	jogador
11	sociais	3	recebendo	2	Criança
11	humanos	3	acontecia	2	Joaquim
11	fazendo	3	guerreira	2	ficamos
11	Cidade	3	documento	2	ouviram
11	lugar	3	conhecida	2	diálogo
11	feito	3	conclusão	2	Algavez
11	todas	3	acredito	2	partida
11	lutar	3	aprender	2	CORAGEM
11	área	3	divulgar	2	chamada
11	será	3	maneiras	2	inteiro
11	funk	3	Educação	2	pedindo
11	além	3	ocorrido	2	estarem
11	nem	3	moradias	2	crítica
11	ato	3	cultural	2	tiveram
11	DIA	3	indicado	2	talento
11	is	3	OCUPAÇÃO	2	símbolo
			O		
11	lá	3	reunidos	2	Unidade
10	ferramenta	3	sentados	2	ficando
10	Instituto	3	discurso	2	arvores
10	momentos	3	caveirão	2	fazemos
10	espaços	3	proposta	2	Demitiu
10	podemos	3	carnaval	2	existem
10	baleado	3	Operação	2	ESTAMOS
10	Canitar	3	reclamar	2	Família
10	racismo	3	objetivo	2	estando
10	menino	3	curtindo	2	terreno
10	cabeça	3	perderam	2	inteira
10	chegar	3	político	2	coronel
10	nenhum	3	Situação	2	rezando
10	México	3	Farofaço	2	UNIRMOS
10	morrer	3	buscando	2	resolvi
10	ficar	3	daquelas	2	interno
10	nesta	3	conhecer	2	vigília
10	Temos	3	PapoReto	2	Ramalho
10	outra	3	acredita	2	Trajano
10	negro	3	postagem	2	sozinho
10	falta	3	Carnaval	2	Inferno
10	parar	3	recursos	2	loteria

10	filho	3	bastante	2	gringos
10	Vila	3	melhorar	2	oficina
10	duas	3	conflito	2	criação
10	dele	3	assistir	2	Estados
10	país	3	discutir	2	menores
10	logo	3	soluções	2	efetuou
10	moto	3	ocupação	2	imagine
10	Esse	3	correria	2	capital
10	sido	3	Calazans	2	COLORIR
10	nica	3	Sargento	2	guerras
10	the	3	seguinte	2	violado
10	Até	3	Parabéns	2	noticia
10	aí	3	fanfarra	2	bagulho
10	Aç	3	proteger	2	lançado
10	Só	3	violenta	2	socorro
9	comunicação	3	Extensão	2	jogando
9	confrontos	3	deixando	2	diários
9	histórias	3	borracha	2	serviço
9	projetos	3	atingida	2	Andamos
9	Santiago	3	revistar	2	Matéria
9	COLETIVO	3	suspeita	2	pararam
9	absurdo	3	voltando	2	taxista
9	imagens	3	legítima	2	MUDANÇA
9	militar	3	Seguimos	2	reclama
9	Central	3	gravando	2	resgate
9	justiça	3	Favelado	2	porrada
9	Witness	3	vermelho	2	cercada
9	conosco	3	incrível	2	NOTURNA
9	página	3	Pedreira	2	receber
9	juntos	3	levando	2	Confira
9	mortos	3	maiores	2	diárias
9	morreu	3	eventos	2	Conheça
9	iremos	3	seguida	2	Barraco
9	muitas	3	felizes	2	próprio
9	parada	3	palavra	2	Conhece
9	mortes	3	Assiste	2	cadeias
9	soscp	3	naquele	2	decisão
9	diária	3	estejam	2	Holanda
9	bairro	3	faremos	2	mudança
9	escola	3	colocar	2	costume
9	mídia	3	Queiroz	2	Roberta
9	tinha	3	extrema	2	Rocinha
9	disse	3	Estrada	2	formato

9	Ontem	3	SOLUÇÃO	2	carioca
9	redes	3	pudesse	2	Andrade
9	muita	3	Itararé	2	comprar
9	certo	3	começam	2	aparece
9	fazem	3	teremos	2	Militar
9	ação	3	VIGÍLIA	2	Polícia
9	Essa	3	intuito	2	privada
9	ncia	3	Confere	2	ocupado
9	Caio	3	MORADO R	2	Outubro
9	fala	3	relatos	2	quantas
9	boa	3	proibiu	2	adianta
9	mãe	3	exemplo	2	Poderia
9	mão	3	pimenta	2	lágrima
9	tá	3	sucesso	2	paredes
8	soscomplexod oalemao	3	reunião	2	escolas
8	principalmente	3	mostram	2	empurra
8	CulturaDePaz	3	Favelas	2	EDUARDO
8	trabalhador	3	Momento	2	agentes
8	acontecendo	3	tivemos	2	grandes
8	SOSFAVELA S	3	Redução	2	acordei
8	fortalecer	3	Governo	2	rajadas
8	confronto	3	diretos	2	achamos
8	parceiros	3	Senhora	2	relatam
8	população	3	perdido	2	BALEADO
8	primeiro	3	esquina	2	visando
8	política	3	Pedimos	2	maneira
8	próximas	3	América	2	aceitar
8	WITNESS	3	questão	2	tirando
8	durante	3	Rodrigo	2	acusado
8	celular	3	bandido	2	poderia
8	ninguém	3	deveria	2	vazando
8	segundo	3	futebol	2	Farofar
8	Cultura	3	Trailer	2	resiste
8	menina	3	Atenção	2	Buluffa
8	pobres	3	JANEIRO	2	incapaz
8	quiser	3	cumpriu	2	Rolando
8	mulher	3	fizeram	2	estudar
8	pretos	3	orgulho	2	casaco
8	drogas	3	baleada	2	Grande
8	edição	3	intensa	2	CIDADE

8	mostra	3	avançar	2	Rotina
8	online	3	vivemos	2	pensou
8	corpo	3	pedimos	2	Cinema
8	BASTA	3	caótica	2	Igreja
8	Ainda	3	fundada	2	idosos
8	grito	3	Juvenal	2	furado
8	Raull	3	Projeto	2	espero
8	vezes	3	colégio	2	venham
8	dando	3	moradia	2	Charli
8	favor	3	demanda	2	chamar
8	forte	3	certeza	2	Tepito
8	ontem	3	humilde	2	mediar
8	mesma	3	Frente	2	ocupou
8	acaba	3	inglês	2	blicos
8	Assim	3	Clique	2	modelo
8	becos	3	tempos	2	inicia
8	ordem	3	Painel	2	subida
8	praia	3	import	2	Caribe
8	chão	3	costas	2	Vídeos
8	vive	3	global	2	OCUPAR
8	cara	3	entrou	2	Alunos
8	beco	3	quadro	2	passam
8	vivo	3	bonito	2	narrar
8	Vivo	3	Bulufa	2	FALHOU
8	base	3	escuro	2	quadra
8	era	3	debate	2	üé•,úã
8	tão	3	fardas	2	resumo
8	voz	3	SECRET	2	letras
8	Nos	3	Partiu	2	Graças
8	Rua	3	BULUFA	2	Chegam
8	PAZ	3	achada	2	aliado
8	Tá	3	Existe	2	APENAS
8	dá	3	brutal	2	OPERAÇ
7	manifestação	3	jamais	2	haverá
7	tatudoerrado	3	ERRADO	2	passou
7	governantes	3	Acesse	2	criado
7	AUDIOVISU AL	3	blicas	2	imenso
7	Governador	3	deixou	2	Dentre
7	comunidade	3	saindo	2	Sabino
7	SEGURANÇA	3	Sempre	2	pagina
7	ativistas	3	voltar	2	férias
7	situações	3	tornou	2	Brenda

7	moradora	3	dessas	2	avanço
7	Cruzeiro	3	mesmas	2	humano
7	polícias	3	Vários	2	chegou
7	mulheres	3	filmou	2	Olaria
7	especial	3	Senhor	2	seguir
7	educação	3	coisas	2	Espaço
7	Ferreira	3	Jornal	2	RECUAR
7	intenso	3	passar	2	tropas
7	entrada	3	pensar	2	cantar
7	matéria	3	alerta	2	furada
7	redução	3	sangra	2	errado
7	começou	3	Débora	2	pedido
7	passado	3	curtem	2	mandam
7	Polícia	3	Escola	2	folhas
7	minutos	3	tantas	2	buscar
7	ficaram	3	Latina	2	FILMAM
7	memória	3	Felipe	2	reunir
7	importa	3	Evento	2	vindas
7	Morador	3	SEMANA	2	camisa
7	alunos	3	acordo	2	acesso
7	locais	3	provas	2	entrar
7	partir	3	causas	2	lembra
7	vídeos	3	comida	2	chamam
7	defesa	3	Denize	2	normal
7	existe	3	filmar	2	fechar
7	querem	3	Guerra	2	Corrêa
7	Amanhã	3	ocupam	2	orando
7	branco	3	oração	2	atende
7	Neste	3	Negras	2	avisar
7	deste	3	doação	2	Guinha
7	vidas	3	beleza	2	pontos
7	disso	3	velas	2	Prêmio
7	claro	3	cobrar	2	presas
7	Somos	3	terror	2	segiu
7	preto	3	ocorre	2	mesmos
7	maior	3	sosCPX	2	tenham
7	risco	3	prédio	2	diário
7	papel	3	gritos	2	lembro
7	quase	3	corpos	2	QUISER
7	feita	3	Daqui	2	famoso
7	lazer	3	falha	2	TERRIT
7	basta	3	Prova	2	RELIGI
7	morre	3	Chega	2	partiu

7	campo	3	VOTAR	2	trégua
7	fuzil	3	Moura	2	saíram
7	motos	3	Logue	2	forças
7	coisa	3	feliz	2	ataque
7	irmãs	3	puder	2	seguem
7	armas	3	Nesse	2	Alemao
7	York	3	visto	2	SOSXPX
7	VIDA	3	abril	2	Mexico
7	medo	3	vista	2	termos
7	ARTE	3	Sexta	2	praças
7	Maré	3	cruel	2	nessas
7	liga	3	matam	2	desses
7	LGBT	3	firme	2	MORREM
7	Isso	3	inbox	2	perder
7	reto	3	Souza	2	HOSTIS
7	fato	3	Esses	2	ouvido
7	fogo	3	SAÚDE	2	possui
7	Pois	3	video	2	horror
7	Tudo	3	vivem	2	idéias
7	EUA	3	LARGO	2	propor
7	mim	3	VAMOS	2	visita
7	for	3	LAZER	2	grupos
7	NYC	3	Artes	2	Juntos
7	Boa	3	votar	2	sentir
7	pé	3	Largo	2	manter
6	BrazilFoundati on	3	vozes	2	Teatro
6	trabalhadores	3	estou	2	Jovens
6	independente	3	Nesta	2	aponta
6	SomosJuntos	3	teste	2	agiram
6	pacificação	3	cheia	2	Vargas
6	ESQUECIDO S	3	nobre	2	quinta
6	atividades	3	clima	2	ganhar
6	familiares	3	falsa	2	police
6	território	3	algum	2	public
6	desculpas	3	Light	2	painel
6	desespero	3	Nessa	2	prisão
6	realmente	3	aulas	2	assola
6	CAMINHAD A	3	bateu	2	abusos
6	genocídio	3	balas	2	querer
6	Friedrich	3	deram	2	Saindo

6	Nietzsche	3	lares	2	comigo
6	atingidos	3	podem	2	Jacaré
6	sociedade	3	acham	2	jornal
6	audiência	3	crise	2	lanche
6	produção	3	tirar	2	tratar
6	morrendo	3	meros	2	coloca
6	Alvorada	3	acima	2	aceita
6	resposta	3	Estou	2	NORMAL
6	conversa	3	viram	2	chorar
6	telefone	3	Silva	2	devido
6	presença	3	idade	2	básico
6	pesquisa	3	deixa	2	Contra
6	protesto	3	multa	2	portão
6	Facebook	3	Video	2	filhas
6	presente	3	porém	2	minhas
6	silêncio	3	breve	2	acervo
6	possível	3	roupa	2	enviar
6	atingido	3	largo	2	crença
6	problema	3	braço	2	MARCHA
6	Direitos	3	praça	2	pretas
6	própria	3	pegou	2	lençol
6	remoção	3	novas	2	velhas
6	pequeno	3	terem	2	NENHUM
6	feridas	3	ÁBADO	2	CONTRA
6	Regrann	3	viver	2	Ananda
6	dizendo	3	ficam	2	Negrão
6	mostrar	3	reais	2	mandar
6	crucial	3	bomba	2	entrem
6	enxerga	3	Clima	2	Defesa
6	nenhuma	3	menor	2	linhas
6	atenção	3	total	2	levado
6	rolando	3	conte	2	fortes
6	pistola	3	jeito	2	Máximo
6	solução	3	seria	2	ocupar
6	Humanos	3	torno	2	lógica
6	PÚBLICA	3	meses	2	artigo
6	vítimas	3	Áudio	2	Black
6	energia	3	curso	2	pauta
6	revolta	3	obras	2	Minha
6	polícia	3	moram	2	capuz
6	almoço	3	dados	2	exato
6	imagem	3	houve	2	novos
6	cabelo	3	Lindo	2	façam

6	várias	3	Clica	2	chora
6	início	3	fosse	2	Times
6	pessoa	3	cair	2	lutam
6	usando	3	irão	2	PAGAR
6	alguém	3	Vale	2	Houve
6	social	3	Táxi	2	dupla
6	outras	3	Funk	2	Baile
6	prêmio	3	TIRE	2	QUERO
6	pensam	3	that	2	ecoam
6	poucos	3	mães	2	estas
6	aberto	3	Bala	2	LEVAR
6	negros	3	Bobs	2	monte
6	ajudar	3	Eddu	2	MORTE
6	rosto	3	Lima	2	olhai
6	essas	3	Ciep	2	canta
6	SERÃO	3	TUDO	2	chega
6	Nossa	3	três	2	Emici
6	havia	3	LUTA	2	turno
6	geral	3	pior	2	Nunca
6	fique	3	dado	2	PEDIR
6	PMERJ	3	nota	2	AJUDA
6	serem	3	abre	2	Samba
6	serão	3	bate	2	AINDA
6	ajuda	3	mira	2	visão
6	abuso	3	Dona	2	Álbum
6	Basta	3	saco	2	pondo
6	pista	3	dela	2	ARMAS
6	Salve	3	Vida	2	invés
6	troca	3	lixo	2	sabia
6	Jesus	3	iria	2	TEMOS
6	perto	3	mera	2	julho
6	levou	3	elas	2	ditos
6	crime	3	UERJ	2	Serra
6	Areal	3	terá	2	FORAM
6	ãNCIA	3	táxi	2	sério
6	tenso	3	Cadê	2	Bloco
6	daqui	3	real	2	Neves
6	passa	3	visa	2	Quero
6	blico	3	Honk	2	Feira
6	Morro	3	foda	2	sinal
6	dizem	3	Será	2	senti
6	Paulo	3	Kong	2	Lazer
6	pedir	3	Hong	2	trará

6	lutas	3	haja	2	massa
6	algo	3	nova	2	razão
6	Luta	3	caiu	2	bares
6	dito	3	João	2	ERROS
6	maio	3	CIEP	2	saída
6	arma	3	Caic	2	luzes
6	mora	3	AUDI	2	house
6	após	3	alto	2	param
6	mesa	3	DELA	2	louco
6	Esta	3	Logo	2	comer
6	sou	3	CPI	2	Garis
6	The	3	pós	2	igual
6	üëä	3	Cpx	2	Ramos
6	amp	3	mês	2	meras
6	luz	3	Mcs	2	preta
6	Vai	3	10h	2	Pinto
6	SUA	3	üëè	2	AREAL
6	New	3	bar	2	venha
6	PMs	3	EST	2	Casas
6	mil	3	Nas	2	Atila
6	üëâ	3	Sul	2	chama
6	deu	3	pão	2	primo
5	coletivopapore to	3	gás	2	enche
5	CriançasdoCP X	3	UPA	2	Verde
5	FavelaResiste	3	blá	2	SUPER
5	internacional	3	vou	2	SOMAR
5	assassinados	3	vir	2	fuzis
5	favelasempre	3	Pra	2	peito
5	Pacificação	3	Luz	2	kombi
5	aniversário	3	úa	2	Tendo
5	witness_org	3	Há	2	brass
5	beneficente	3	cá	2	ALGUM
5	governador	3	üé	2	bands
5	prefeitura	3	fé	2	pegos
5	precisamos	3	Äì	2	Curta
5	Precisamos	3	vê	2	nomes
5	maioridade	2	Reduçãonão ésolução	2	Adeus
5	Complexos	2	SomosTodo sComplexo	2	DELAS
5	abordagem	2	Audiênciad oAlemão	2	letal

5	GENOCÍDIO	2	queremosca sapezao	2	TENDO
5	realizada	2	complexodo alemao	2	sofre
5	resultado	2	policemisco nduct	2	morar
5	Madureira	2	transformad ores	2	falam
5	continuam	2	FamiliaPap oReto	2	Whats
5	presentes	2	paporetano mundo	2	segue
5	favelados	2	desenvolvi mento	2	Venha
5	inclusive	2	TodosPelo Alemão	2	mudar
5	problemas	2	PRINCIPA LMENTE	2	graça
5	churrasco	2	tranquilame nte	2	Chama
5	mensagem	2	quilombofa vela	2	pagar
5	respeito	2	CULTURA L/SARAU	2	POUCO
5	surpresa	2	sistematizaç ão	2	light
5	queremos	2	governamen tais	2	vivos
5	intensos	2	BastadeRac ismo	2	Ahmad
5	EDUCAÇÃO	2	manifestant es	2	deter
5	história	2	enfrentame nto	2	queda
5	CAVEIRÃO	2	transformaç ão	2	Cunha
5	processo	2	identificaçã o	2	justa
5	disparos	2	restabelecid a	2	forem
5	COPWATCH	2	conseguire mos	2	chapa
5	favelada	2	desaparecid os	2	capaz
5	domingo	2	monitorame nto	2	Jovem
5	revista	2	multiplican	2	Dinho

	do		
5	difícil	2	comunicado res
5	atuação	2	solidariedad e
5	Memória	2	Raullsantia go
5	falando	2	video4justic e
5	contato	2	sobrevivênc ia
5	estiver	2	adolescente s
5	sabemos	2	TATUDOE RRADO
5	senhora	2	OTaldoAo Vivo
5	CULTURA	2	oportunidad e
5	direção	2	constituição
5	bairros	2	recentement e
5	preciso	2	Mototaxista s
5	minuto	2	mototaxista s
5	abaixo	2	OTalDoAo Vivo
5	quanto	2	exterminad os
5	morrem	2	companheir os
5	senhor	2	participara m
5	Renata	2	experiência s
5	Moraes	2	comerciante s
5	triste	2	FavelaResit e
5	garde	2	Comerciant es
5	depois	2	dificuldades
5	filhos	2	atendimento s
5	exigir	2	compartilha
		2	Tropa
		2	frear
		2	torna
		2	atuam
		2	grave
		2	morta
		2	serve
		2	comum
		2	ocupa
		2	plena
		2	Lugar
		2	custa
		2	sonho
		2	Essas
		2	somar
		2	texto
		2	GROTA
		2	Moore
		2	Kevin
		2	camel
		2	NEGRO
		2	vemos
		2	Zumbi
		2	Maior

		r	
5	Fiquem	2	equipament os
5	armado	2	esquecimen to
5	Choque	2	assassinatos
5	perdeu	2	apartamento s
5	igreja	2	interessados
5	alguma	2	competênci as
5	Depois	2	imortalidad e
5	Unidos	2	coletividade
5	equipe	2	desenroland o
5	MORTOS	2	Compartilh em
5	NOSSOS	2	descontraçã o
5	criar	2	procedimen to
5	baile	2	extremamen te
5	Santa	2	intervenção s
5	Pezão	2	acontecerão
5	ouvir	2	trabalharem
5	fotos	2	maravilhoso
5	áreas	2	ABANDO NADOS
5	ltima	2	habilitação
5	longe	2	aluno/aluna
5	tanto	2	alimentação
5	Praça	2	testemunhas
5	filme	2	justificada
5	rolou	2	despertador
5	Vídeo	2	desesperada
5	entra	2	TMJMOTO TAXI
5	Fomos	2	SOSMOTO TAXI
5	andar	2	considerada
5	Feliz	2	encontradas
5	NOSSA	2	mobilização
2	tendo		
2	falas		
2	NUNCA		
2	falou		
2	atual		
2	Sente		
2	PRAIA		
2	filma		
2	ncias		
2	rico		
2	trás		
2	Nada		
2	raiz		
2	SUAS		
2	alma		
2	bola		
2	TIRO		
2	Caos		
2	Copa		
2	aula		
2	Cine		
2	Pela		
2	Arte		
2	eram		
2	CAOS		
2	vejo		
2	SEUS		
2	ALTA		
2	Zezé		
2	TIRA		

5	super	2	organizara m	2	atua
5	lindo	2	rapidamente	2	usam
5	porta	2	impossíveis	2	onda
5	passo	2	companheir a	2	BENS
5	nunca	2	aproximare m	2	Tiro
5	tiver	2	construídas	2	CAJU
5	falar	2	aproximaçã o	2	cabe
5	Vejam	2	perseguidos	2	ecoa
5	legal	2	gravíssimas	2	vira
5	Fotos	2	funcionária	2	Park
5	deles	2	jornalistas	2	Alan
5	Tiros	2	Governante s	2	Maio
5	quero	2	transmissão	2	IFRJ
5	sexta	2	devestating	2	Muda
5	feira	2	assassinada	2	irmã
5	casos	2	brutalmente	2	meus
5	amigo	2	aplicativos	2	CAIC
5	penal	2	Providência	2	pede
5	morto	2	Resistência	2	Fica
5	fomos	2	brasileiras	2	Grau
5	fila	2	Organizaçã o	2	cria
5	saiu	2	abandonado s	2	ìRUM
5	BOPE	2	entrevistas	2	dedo
5	sabe	2	mercadorias	2	Dudu
5	mãos	2	inocentado	2	Duas
5	roda	2	consideram	2	Brum
5	Saca	2	assassinou	2	ìRIO
5	sair	2	resultados	2	tema
5	numa	2	exigências	2	VEEM
5	Além	2	espalhando	2	Metr
5	veio	2	envolvidos	2	dono
5	pena	2	Teleférico	2	mero
5	rede	2	autoridade	2	suor
5	sica	2	presidente	2	BECO
5	HOJE	2	movimentos	2	fico
5	üéà	2	Copacabana	2	CAIO
5	20h	2	PapaGoiaba	2	foco

5	üéc	2	SOBREVI VER	2	Cria
5	Sou	2	realizados	2	show
5	pro	2	condomínio	2	rolé
5	Via	2	diligência	2	alta
5	15h	2	escravidão	2	Cara
5	Piu	2	entenderem	2	bens
5	num	2	humanidade	2	tira
5	prá	2	indignação	2	olha
5	den	2	defensoria	2	Laje
5	som	2	ENVOLVI DOS	2	mara
5	dor	2	apresentou	2	nuca
5	VAI	2	acontecerá	2	ruim
4	compartilhamen to	2	existentes	2	Bina
4	paporetonome xico	2	ocuparemos	2	laje
4	desigualdades	2	consciente	2	Lana
4	conhecimento	2	conseguirá	2	jogo
4	conversation	2	convocamo s	2	olho
4	participação	2	manutenção	2	ONGs
4	participando	2	truculenta	2	Toda
4	funcionários	2	discutindo	2	data
4	ReintegrAção	2	utilizando	2	leis
4	instituições	2	associação	2	PELA
4	territórios	2	influência	2	dona
4	helicóptero	2	estudantes	2	UFRJ
4	comunidades	2	destruindo	2	this
4	ferramentas	2	provocação	2	from
4	assassinato	2	Democracia	2	Chão
4	localidades	2	revoltante	2	óleo
4	apreendidas	2	presencie	2	UPPs
4	abandonado	2	lideranças	2	agir
4	estratégia	2	desfilando	2	heim
4	fotografia	2	contribuir	2	amo
4	tratamento	2	derrubando	2	RIO
4	Fazendinha	2	secretário	2	NAS
4	documentos	2	fronteiras	2	Obs
4	brasileira	2	preocupado	2	pés
4	esquecidos	2	Ministério	2	DOI
4	sosfavelas	2	participou	2	rep
4	informação	2	populações	2	dio

4	acontecido	2	encontrado	2	lar
4	traficante	2	desenrolar	2	Céu
4	totalmente	2	jornalista	2	sol
4	acontecer	2	impactante	2	mal
4	cobertura	2	estilhaços	2	13h
4	mostrando	2	saneamento	2	16h
4	excelente	2	terrorista	2	sei
4	liberdade	2	Secretária	2	Bar
4	violentas	2	científica	2	NOS
4	comércios	2	olimpíadas	2	nel
4	acreditar	2	iniciativa	2	céu
4	bicicleta	2	defensores	2	22h
4	novamente	2	conseguiu	2	hrs
4	movimento	2	PREJUÍZO S	2	TV
4	diferente	2	PerifeRia	2	Tia
4	protestos	2	flagrante	2	dás
4	condições	2	coletivos	2	21h
4	madrugada	2	populares	2	sob
4	significa	2	Soberania	2	nao
4	Segurança	2	festivais	2	ria
4	notícias	2	Cobertura	2	app
4	internet	2	inscrever	2	Som
4	dinheiro	2	tiroteios	2	sao
4	Caveirão	2	humildade	2	how
4	FAROFAÇO	2	delegacia	2	põe
4	funciona	2	acordados	2	Num
4	veículos	2	vivências	2	who
4	FavelaNY	2	Bielzinho	2	lei
4	oficinas	2	RESULTA DO	2	web
4	ausência	2	fotógrafo	2	vão
4	chegando	2	TROUXER AM	2	ing
4	Brooklyn	2	possíveis	2	lhe
4	tratados	2	microfone	2	ATO
4	pergunta	2	quebrando	2	MEM
4	exército	2	moradoras	2	PDR
4	campanha	2	MATERIAI S	2	pai
4	programa	2	estudante	2	viu
4	operação	2	escolares	2	Äs
4	entender	2	arrastões	1	reconstituído

4	Fernando	2	UPPpraQue	1	militarizado
4	estadual	2	promessas	1	fragilidades
4	cansados	2	produzido	1	trabalhadora
4	continua	2	AllforRio	1	generosidade
4	Whatsapp	2	militares	1	recomendado
4	percurso	2	Lembrando	1	transformou
4	desacato	2	dedicação	1	Ä¿Elizabeth
4	sorriso	2	propostas	1	Assassinada
4	cuidado	2	estávamos	1	CIRCULAN DO
4	gravado	2	participe	1	multiplica
4	peçoal	2	conversar	1	soltaremos
4	horário	2	visitando	1	excelentes
4	ESPERAR	2	Mangueira	1	derrubadas
4	Algumas	2	recebemos	1	derrubados
4	segunda	2	garantida	1	estressado
4	ASSUMIR	2	PRINCIPA L	1	Comandante
4	olhando	2	brilhante	1	MADUREIR A
4	invasão	2	homenagem	1	superando
4	lugares	2	palestras	1	Comércios
4	opinião	2	Começando	1	irmandade
4	ATENÇÃO	2	revistado	1	Uanderson
4	semanas	2	dignidade	1	Ä¿Eduardo
4	disparo	2	POSSÍVEIS	1	Franklin
4	Federal	2	materiais	1	criativa
4	tráfico	2	fazedores	1	üëä#Luta
4	empresa	2	militante	1	reerguer
4	coragem	2	juventude	1	ajudá-lo
4	próxima	2	criminoso	1	setembro
4	sistema	2	assassino	1	ESTOPIM
4	Imagens	2	Acompanhe	1	utopias
4	notícia	2	co-fonder	1	estopim
4	covarde	2	Blackbird	1	viatura
4	existiu	2	Trajanono	1	roubada
4	começar	2	Ruanzinho	1	seguido
4	plantão	2	disparado	1	gostosa
4	Justiça	2	horríveis	1	CORDEL
4	matando	2	exercerem	1	trator
4	Raphael	2	espancada	1	COMEÇA
4	recebeu	2	primeiros	1	PESADA
4	lutando	2	existimos	1	kombis

4	escorre	2	garantido	1	apoiar
4	coração	2	contrário	1	Family
4	vontade	2	culturais	1	Manoel
4	vivendo	2	iniciação	1	pureza
4	deixar	2	seguintes	1	Festa
4	acabou	2	acreditem	1	Kombi
4	bombas	2	advogados	1	rodam
4	Imagem	2	Acordamos	1	Saiba
4	gringa	2	colocando	1	duras
4	máximo	2	abordados	1	ÌRIAS
4	Raízes	2	convênio	1	Muita
4	homens	2	talentos	1	Naval
4	formas	2	assaltar	1	Jose
2	Blindado			1	sede
2	exibição			1	Cola
2	responde				

APPENDIX 10 – LIST OF WORDS FROM MARÉ VIVE’S WORD CLOUD

*The Words “São” (Are) And “Que” (That) Were Excluded From The List

Times it appeared	Word	Times it appeared	Word	Times it appeared	Word
343	Maré	6	diante	3	resolveu
188	pra	6	mostra	3	Dezembro
177	favela	6	tantas	3	exercito
172	dia	6	morrer	3	contexto
142	moradores	6	termos	3	consegue
139	tiros	6	costas	3	refletir
127	Vila	6	voando	3	relações
127	nos	6	Galera	3	reproduz
117	pela	6	ultimo	3	expulsos
107	comunidade	6	voltar	3	chegaram
100	Pinheiro	6	formas	3	mantendo
98	isso	6	negros	3	Fernando
95	só	6	iremos	3	fuzilada
93	nossas	6	parada	3	al-Assad
93	essa	6	Choque	3	vestindo
92	Vive	6	sentir	3	serviços
92	já	6	morre	3	vermelho
90	gente	6	Jorge	3	atingida
89	marévive	6	tenso	3	conhecem

87	sua	6	Norte	3	leprosos
82	nossa	6	sofre	3	praticar
81	Baixa	6	amigo	3	positivo
80	Morador	6	pagar	3	estranho
80	casa	6	Local	3	clássico
74	morador	6	culpa	3	aprovado
74	noite	6	legal	3	permitir
74	Rio	6	preto	3	conjunto
71	Nova	6	redes	3	Domingão
67	foram	6	daqui	3	aprender
66	hoje	6	manda	3	prefeito
65	entre	6	dizia	3	dirigido
64	policiais	6	tirar	3	sofremos
64	João	6	negro	3	proposta
63	guerra	6	moram	3	Brizolão
62	informações	6	apoio	3	Notícias
62	nas	6	vivem	3	enviando
61	tiroteio	6	chega	3	coletiva
60	militares	6	Gente	3	passagem
60	Janeiro	6	Paris	3	poderiam
60	ainda	6	Síria	3	produção
60	sobre	6	ordem	3	revistas
60	vai	6	corpo	3	Informes
60	Rua	6	lutar	3	caveirão
59	negras	6	campo	3	intensos
58	Sapateiro	6	certo	3	Batalhão
58	ter	6	Porém	3	prejuízo
56	Parque	6	pedir	3	original
56	esse	6	Viva	3	mediante
56	Dia	6	três	3	roubaram
54	comunidades	6	ESPA	3	corajosa
54	vida	6	vivo	3	opressor
53	esta	6	obra	3	passamos
52	polícia	6	fila	3	enfiaram
52	andam	6	algo	3	revoltas
52	Fala	6	eram	3	Brasília
51	Holanda	6	Cadê	3	aparente
51	Via	6	elas	3	práticas
50	seja	6	pros	3	trailers
50	paz	6	arte	3	inúmeros
49	Conjunto	6	aula	3	tornaram
49	até	6	irão	3	deputado
48	mídia	6	pais	3	geração

48	vamos	6	moro	3	assusta
48	tá	6	nova	3	vizinho
47	Complexo	6	vive	3	mercado
47	manhã	6	QUE	3	atingiu
45	foto	6	gás	3	assumir
44	Timbau	6	lhe	3	Ninguém
43	Hoje	6	céu	3	Rocinha
42	seus	6	16h	3	idades
42	vez	6	P.U	3	aguardo
41	violência	6	PMs	3	carinho
41	Morro	5	militarização	3	Gabriel
41	anos	5	trabalhadores	3	Público
41	aos	5	praticamente	3	isolado
41	nem	5	acompanhan do	3	munição
41	Que	5	tradicionais	3	tortura
40	informação	5	responsáveis	3	poderão
40	estava	5	oportunidade	3	passar
40	às	5	helicóptero	3	comendo
39	Brasil	5	responsável	3	Adriana
39	temos	5	Informações	3	ligados
39	todo	5	experiência	3	ligadas
39	rua	5	tradicional	3	tratado
38	Whatsapp	5	Comunitária	3	recebeu
38	próximo	5	traficante	3	décadas
38	momento	5	professora	3	outubro
38	outros	5	estilhaços	3	Quantos
38	mundo	5	iniciativa	3	inicial
38	coisa	5	Copacabana	3	reduzir
37	estamos	5	participar	3	Otomano
37	jovens	5	saneamento	3	visitar
37	forma	5	representa	3	decidiu
35	relatos	5	acompanham	3	comprar
35	suas	5	maioridade	3	aceitar
35	nada	5	hipocrisia	3	ataques
34	Esperança	5	conhecida	3	Vidigal
34	família	5	Caveirões	3	Criança
34	outras	5	abordagem	3	criação
34	contra	5	documento	3	Marcelo
33	sempre	5	Guilherme	3	lutador
33	entrar	5	interesse	3	Opinião
33	cidade	5	repressão	3	paramos
33	nossos	5	começando	3	churros

33	Boa	5	doméstica	3	Christi
32	favor	5	estávamos	3	rituais
32	hora	5	invadidas	3	lutando
31	Segundo	5	seguintes	3	brincar
31	frente	5	presentes	3	Finados
31	muita	5	favelados	3	autores
31	morte	5	dignidade	3	censura
31	era	5	criançada	3	cidadão
30	Atividade	5	acreditar	3	prática
30	mulheres	5	encontro	3	lembrar
30	ontem	5	estarmos	3	acordar
29	crianças	5	perceber	3	Popular
29	contato	5	presente	3	aparece
29	durante	5	obrigado	3	galinha
29	minha	5	hospital	3	conduta
29	nesse	5	disseram	3	adianta
29	lado	5	batalhão	3	publica
29	Paz	5	Prefeito	3	madeira
29	lá	5	passeata	3	véspera
28	Estamos	5	familiar	3	gostava
28	assim	5	fechadas	3	pimenta
28	ficar	5	elétrica	3	levaram
28	somos	5	moradora	3	mochila
28	dessa	5	cultural	3	limpeza
28	ncia	5	possamos	3	lugares
28	meio	5	Botafogo	3	Cruzada
28	ããO	5	Vermelha	3	invasão
27	comunicação	5	confusão	3	prédios
27	situação	5	precisam	3	teremos
27	pública	5	escrever	3	semanas
27	pelos	5	culpados	3	creches
27	falta	5	marciais	3	avaliar
27	sendo	5	informar	3	chuvosa
27	toda	5	Facebook	3	trailer
27	tudo	5	favelada	3	cozinha
27	dar	5	deveriam	3	Playboy
27	aí	5	Cultural	3	socorro
26	drogas	5	especial	3	prestar
26	depois	5	controle	3	absurda
26	volta	5	Estados	3	estiver
26	conta	5	esperar	3	Direito
26	União	5	repente	3	esperto
26	tarde	5	maldita	3	arrumar

26	pro	5	barraca	3	escolar
26	Já	5	autoria	3	levando
25	Pacificação	5	consigo	3	ficaram
25	sociedade	5	Humanos	3	barulho
25	grande	5	crescer	3	leitura
25	menos	5	atuação	3	números
25	outra	5	amarela	3	informa
25	além	5	jornais	3	motivos
25	medo	5	feridos	3	tivemos
25	fica	5	palavra	3	fazemos
25	Pra	5	Federal	3	mataram
24	realidade	5	perdida	3	bairros
24	história	5	vivemos	3	meninos
24	nessa	5	pobreza	3	meninas
24	Salsa	5	própria	3	oficial
24	desse	5	noticia	3	Vilela
24	Boal	5	chamado	3	Cristo
23	segurança	5	existem	3	mandam
23	ninguém	5	Cruzado	3	Cantor
23	falar	5	parecem	3	portas
23	pelas	5	passado	3	gênero
23	BOPE	5	coração	3	import
23	ato	5	chamada	3	Querem
23	dá	5	naquela	3	efeito
22	Comunidades	5	Entrada	3	prisão
22	ciclovía	5	minutos	3	livres
22	página	5	esporte	3	gritos
22	coisas	5	começar	3	sofrem
22	Jesus	5	criando	3	trocas
22	local	5	Segunda	3	elenco
22	caso	5	assunto	3	começo
21	apenas	5	atenção	3	BILHÃO
21	chegar	5	importa	3	ilegal
21	levar	5	segunda	3	ermão
21	Vamos	5	federal	3	armado
21	troca	5	intensa	3	nesses
21	carro	5	entrou	3	enorme
21	jovem	5	queria	3	sofreu
21	Deus	5	seriam	3	ocupar
21	sabe	5	década	3	Mulher
21	bala	5	produz	3	tempos
20	importante	5	teriam	3	gangue
20	direitos	5	Unidos	3	Líbano

20	notícias	5	faziam	3	campos
20	Ribeiro	5	velas	3	bélico
20	direção	5	buscar	3	crimes
20	alguma	5	Apesar	3	flores
20	alguém	5	poucas	3	sequer
20	escola	5	perder	3	direto
20	saúde	5	médico	3	célula
20	junto	5	acabou	3	vindos
20	vocês	5	Carlos	3	Kelson
20	pouco	5	Sempre	3	queira
20	poder	5	tornar	3	Corpus
20	algum	5	Iraque	3	feiras
20	LUTA	5	última	3	seguiu
20	tão	5	saindo	3	equipe
20	mãe	5	triste	3	Relato
20	há	5	tanque	3	Sábado
19	Mareenses	5	presos	3	seguem
19	exército	5	branco	3	gritar
19	fazendo	5	Sérgio	3	afirma
19	cuidado	5	portão	3	guarda
19	algumas	5	servem	3	cobrar
19	direito	5	futuro	3	contas
19	revolta	5	morreu	3	Damião
19	espaço	5	diziam	3	nasceu
19	lugar	5	canais	3	passam
19	será	5	mandou	3	visita
19	pois	5	Amanhã	3	caindo
19	ação	5	Nossas	3	saímos
19	olho	5	motivo	3	Livres
18	passarela	5	AMANHÃ	3	Muitas
18	operação	5	diária	3	terror
18	Merengue	5	Neves	3	limpar
18	dinheiro	5	menor	3	entram
18	política	5	super	3	cobrir
18	criança	5	milit	3	rápido
18	feito	5	Black	3	Poesia
18	podem	5	serve	3	idosos
18	mesma	5	tropa	3	voador
18	morro	5	idade	3	bonito
18	VAMOS	5	quero	3	possam
18	tinha	5	Troca	3	cadeia
18	dias	5	sabem	3	seguir
18	sair	5	bomba	3	novela

18	ruas	5	Unido	3	fechar
17	queremos	5	Silva	3	chamam
17	popular	5	inbox	3	metade
17	mulher	5	razão	3	gt;>
17	nunca	5	virar	3	saírem
17	Força	5	idéia	3	romper
17	após	5	novas	3	chamar
17	Isso	5	grito	3	Garcia
17	ano	5	rezar	3	agente
17	vem	5	Barra	3	atirar
17	Só	5	tendo	3	Apenas
16	continua	5	braço	3	faixas
16	militar	5	cerca	3	labuta
16	deveria	5	plena	3	fiquem
16	mortos	5	Vejam	3	carros
16	Alguém	5	mudar	3	Carros
16	altura	5	Enfim	3	colher
16	número	5	Reino	3	feitas
16	armas	5	basta	3	doença
16	ajuda	5	Vocês	3	ladrão
16	fotos	5	acaba	3	camisa
16	vídeo	5	olhos	3	branca
16	casas	5	Padre	3	revela
16	clima	5	baixa	3	marido
16	tiver	5	artes	3	livros
16	possa	5	média	3	perigo
16	risco	5	segue	3	marcou
16	Esse	5	calor	3	Guerra
16	duas	5	Assim	3	pedras
16	Papo	5	Praça	3	regras
16	papo	5	Chico	3	brigas
16	sido	5	longo	3	padrão
16	for	5	penal	3	recado
16	boa	5	levou	3	Yasmin
15	localidades	5	fácil	3	graças
15	acontecendo	5	papel	3	rápida
15	população	5	Pezão	3	merece
15	Eduardo	5	Natal	3	cuidam
15	Pessoal	5	matar	3	ganhar
15	rolando	5	modo	3	doces
15	espaços	5	Metr	3	letal
15	Alemão	5	mole	3	civis
15	semana	5	veio	3	micos

15	muitas	5	Fogo	3	diabo
15	social	5	maio	3	bloco
15	amigos	5	faça	3	Aliás
15	viver	5	iria	3	Cosme
15	fazem	5	laje	3	becos
15	grupo	5	Logo	3	redor
15	ponto	5	Ação	3	quais
15	vezes	5	Toda	3	dorme
15	Ramos	5	Pois	3	Saldo
15	Salve	5	pai	3	Bruna
15	todas	5	Lei	3	posts
15	perto	5	viu	3	árabe
15	fosse	5	iES	3	audio
15	rede	5	lar	3	venha
15	área	5	som	3	Médio
15	país	5	dai	3	vazia
15	quer	5	0_o	3	ricos
15	água	5	ERA	3	nisso
15	luta	5	sai	3	Manda
15	fala	5	num	3	curta
15	Essa	5	fui	3	comum
15	sim	5	Vou	3	envie
14	pacificação	5	18h	3	daria
14	abençoado	5	15h	3	Esses
14	juventude	5	Lua	3	praça
14	madrugada	5	sul	3	sinal
14	Mareense	5	17h	3	terem
14	problema	5	Mil	3	lutas
14	informes	5	The	3	opção
14	possível	5	cá	3	Amigo
14	precisa	5	tv	3	achou
14	Roquete	4	aconteciment os	3	Outra
14	bandido	4	posicioname nto	3	longa
14	podemos	4	criminalizaçã o	3	Deixo
14	Jornal	4	profissionais	3	viveu
14	partir	4	completamen te	3	botar
14	Depois	4	aparentement e	3	dança
14	galera	4	Internacional	3	exija
14	pessoa	4	trabalhadora	3	linda

14	nenhum	4	assassinados	3	saldo
14	rapaz	4	universidade	3	Coroa
14	seria	4	movimentação	3	pensa
14	nibus	4	compartilhem	3	sinto
14	liga	4	registrados	3	feliz
14	Além	4	capitalista	3	cause
14	fato	4	autoridades	3	olhar
14	Sul	4	comunitária	3	nsito
14	Vaz	4	colaboração	3	causa
14	mal	4	identificar	3	falei
14	vão	4	verdadeiros	3	falam
14	Äi	4	mobilização	3	Pedro
13	problemas	4	brasileiros	3	curso
13	educação	4	residências	3	bolso
13	Registro	4	brasileiras	3	fogos
13	Governo	4	preconceito	3	caixa
13	pessoal	4	adolescente	3	CEDAE
13	Cuidado	4	instituição	3	bater
13	pobres	4	patrocinada	3	pegou
13	passar	4	intervenção	3	18h30
13	vários	4	consciência	3	cheia
13	Rubens	4	resistência	3	estas
13	melhor	4	confrontos	3	ligar
13	aberto	4	disparados	3	acham
13	filhos	4	Precisamos	3	fonte
13	existe	4	periferias	3	House
13	Escola	4	religiosos	3	Smith
13	essas	4	interesses	3	lados
13	Linha	4	finalmente	3	Bhega
13	tanto	4	ENCONTRA-DA	3	Nunca
13	filho	4	Informação	3	Podem
13	busca	4	exatamente	3	20h30
13	feira	4	resolveram	3	único
13	época	4	realizando	3	lidar
13	Pinto	4	Candelária	3	vigas
13	dando	4	produzidos	3	Passa
13	acha	4	transexual	3	arrog
13	lixo	4	Governador	3	circo
13	Coé	4	transtorno	3	ância
12	precisamos	4	permanente	3	morar

12	acontecer	4	democracia	3	lucro
12	Marcílio	4	acompanhar	3	médio
12	protesto	4	Aguardando	3	fórum
12	bandidos	4	Nascimento	3	Papai
12	whatsapp	4	espetáculo	3	Feliz
12	cultura	4	Ministério	3	filha
12	projeto	4	esculachar	3	estou
12	mandado	4	Jerusalém	3	Mídia
12	diálogo	4	pacificar	3	perda
12	sociais	4	esculacho	3	busão
12	domingo	4	culturais	3	Zumbi
12	governo	4	esperança	3	danos
12	imagem	4	dia-a-dia	3	ponta
12	França	4	cobertura	3	Sobre
12	deixar	4	Municipal	3	breve
12	região	4	trabalhos	3	Chega
12	sábado	4	perguntar	3	valão
12	sangue	4	segmentos	3	faria
12	vítima	4	recebendo	3	ideia
12	jeito	4	Guarnieri	3	Aline
12	Praia	4	movimento	3	Josué
12	aulas	4	Pinheiros	3	Serão
12	claro	4	primeiras	3	justa
12	vista	4	processos	3	peças
12	moral	4	mensagens	3	monte
12	maior	4	Militares	3	Costa
12	Bento	4	linguagem	3	digo
12	pista	4	inocentes	3	Teot
12	saída	4	dedicação	3	joga
12	deste	4	Mangueira	3	econ
12	final	4	encontram	3	jogo
12	quase	4	genocídio	3	grau
12	mora	4	prejuízos	3	Lima
12	Dias	4	projetos	3	pele
12	numa	4	conforme	3	real
12	meus	4	ATUALIZA	3	peça
12	sob	4	Conversa	3	caiu
12	bar	4	defender	3	Fica
12	Tá	4	gostaria	3	Elas
12	pé	4	conhecer	3	feia
11	solidariedade	4	violento	3	mapa
11	traficantes	4	formação	3	POST
11	localidade	4	judicial	3	tema

11	abençoada	4	remoções	3	Jord
11	aconteceu	4	acredita	3	pega
11	Esperamos	4	dialogar	3	amar
11	mensagem	4	gritando	3	mera
11	primeiro	4	Tatajuba	3	Caju
11	tentando	4	divulgar	3	fria
11	primeira	4	melhorar	3	alta
11	baleado	4	resolver	3	duro
11	energia	4	radicais	3	Bope
11	vítimas	4	negativa	3	dura
11	Augusto	4	soluções	3	Após
11	intenso	4	destaque	3	haja
11	milhões	4	ocorrido	3	sete
11	revista	4	sofrendo	3	data
11	público	4	conversa	3	seis
11	através	4	retornou	3	doar
11	Dantas	4	material	3	York
11	bombas	4	momentos	3	Fato
11	evento	4	Capivari	3	Vida
11	jornal	4	Hospital	3	café
11	querer	4	Tancredo	3	acho
11	ajudar	4	entrarem	3	vira
11	Globo	4	Oliveira	3	cena
11	Somos	4	deixando	3	UPPs
11	tanta	4	alvejada	3	roda
11	vidas	4	acabando	3	UFRJ
11	disso	4	disparos	3	Noel
11	jogar	4	exemplos	3	TODO
11	negra	4	esquecer	3	show
11	disse	4	próprios	3	VIVE
11	tomar	4	corações	3	logo
11	alto	4	garantir	3	quil
11	José	4	atingido	3	Vale
11	ATEN	4	sucesso	3	erro
11	luz	4	Maxwell	3	Reto
11	Nos	4	Esconde	3	Bela
11	UPP	4	crioulo	3	caos
10	principalment e	4	cocaína	3	amor
10	construção	4	Roberto	3	ONGs
10	Comunidade	4	andando	3	gato
10	Bonsucesso	4	facções	3	alvo
10	território	4	Resiste	3	dona

10	atividade	4	piscina	3	funk
10	comercial	4	veículo	3	tua
10	fevereiro	4	Rodrigo	3	nio
10	internet	4	estaria	3	tio
10	esquerda	4	Revolta	3	tre
10	conflito	4	Boladão	3	eis
10	Piscinão	4	maiores	3	des
10	respeito	4	Justiça	3	Tel
10	pergunta	4	reforça	3	UPA
10	classes	4	redução	3	mar
10	entrada	4	coragem	3	pow
10	Barraca	4	batalha	3	tom
10	nenhuma	4	tivesse	3	ora
10	parece	4	membros	3	cor
10	divisa	4	clínica	3	vêm
10	pensar	4	sistema	3	the
10	bairro	4	racista	3	daí
10	juntos	4	Milhões	3	Fui
10	centro	4	viatura	3	CMS
10	ferido	4	chegada	3	Era
10	homens	4	sabendo	3	NAO
10	sério	4	Família	3	S/N
10	Paulo	4	tiverem	3	R.V
10	preso	4	Cláudia	3	RIO
10	visto	4	serviço	3	Léo
10	Nossa	4	futebol	3	PRA
10	Ainda	4	ficamos	3	dó
10	linha	4	repleto	3	Há
10	esses	4	Durante	3	dê
10	pedra	4	quintal	3	vá
10	força	4	simples	2	Desenvolvim ento
10	fogo	4	cerveja	2	reivindicaçõe s
10	cara	4	plural	2	frequentemen te
10	nota	4	Galpão	2	historicament e
10	base	4	atores	2	compartilhan do
10	Zona	4	Tijuca	2	reapresentand o
10	deu	4	básico	2	DESAPARE CIDOS

9	organizações	4	versão	2	absolutament e
9	Prefeitura	4	senhor	2	desaparecidas
9	transporte	4	poucos	2	sensibilidade
9	principal	4	cordão	2	Trabalhadore s
9	recebemos	4	tinham	2	genuinamente
9	acontecem	4	rotina	2	jornalística
9	comunicar	4	Igreja	2	desaparecida
9	construir	4	marcha	2	DESAPARE CIDA
9	MaréVive	4	haverá	2	covardemente
9	milhares	4	desejo	2	assassinando
9	ocupação	4	apesar	2	Sinceramente
9	Teixeira	4	correr	2	participação
9	arrastão	4	pensei	2	Agradecemos
9	correndo	4	servir	2	ENCONTRA DAS
9	acontece	4	afinal	2	maravilhosa
9	Casinhas	4	linhas	2	zerovinteum
9	período	4	esteja	2	justiceiros
9	horário	4	Queria	2	compreender
9	Domingo	4	MULHER	2	testemunhas
9	Amarela	4	Castro	2	entrevistas
9	exemplo	4	comigo	2	agradecemos
9	começou	4	cantos	2	Orientações
9	justiça	4	vídeos	2	assaltantes
9	certeza	4	gastos	2	sobrevoando
9	Militar	4	errado	2	construindo
9	sentido	4	ultima	2	Alistamento
9	imagens	4	quatro	2	adjacências
9	maneira	4	dormir	2	humilhações
9	estavam	4	Fiscal	2	Educacional
9	Cidade	4	Estava	2	Bittencourt
9	talvez	4	tantos	2	construídas
9	grupos	4	igreja	2	Jacarezinho
9	Centro	4	Santos	2	abandonados
9	trazer	4	CONTRA	2	comunitário
9	normal	4	Diante	2	compartilha
9	teatro	4	choque	2	principais
9	querem	4	Espero	2	emergência
9	várias	4	início	2	terminaram
9	passou	4	mídias	2	empurrando

9	máximo	4	cartaz	2	Confrontos
9	pontos	4	reação	2	determinar
9	desta	4	antigo	2	indivíduos
9	deles	4	sorrir	2	horizontal
9	Nesse	4	acesso	2	localizado
9	obras	4	aquilo	2	feministas
9	vendo	4	vieram	2	denunciado
9	praia	4	segura	2	Identidade
9	feita	4	Barros	2	prometendo
9	merda	4	fossem	2	eficiência
9	tenha	4	Contra	2	específica
9	ouvir	4	Parece	2	terrestres
9	serão	4	século	2	Torquemada
9	neste	4	contar	2	nascimento
9	Quero	4	fuzis	2	provocação
9	canal	4	festa	2	pressionar
9	parar	4	farão	2	poderíamos
9	Entre	4	verbo	2	Referência
9	Museu	4	vivos	2	municipais
9	leva	4	civil	2	fotografe
9	indo	4	plano	2	belíssima
9	mãos	4	Pablo	2	tornou-se
9	via	4	sorte	2	indignada
9	mão	4	seres	2	comemorar
9	vir	4	subir	2	protestar
9	etc	4	calma	2	militante
9	sou	4	fique	2	Alexandre
9	TV	4	Mundo	2	ocidental
8	independente	4	abrir	2	incursões
8	Compartilhem	4	vemos	2	obrigando
8	quarta-feira	4	faixa	2	Guanabara
8	companheiros	4	tomou	2	exclusivo
8	diariamente	4	teria	2	mostrando
8	DIVULGAN DO	4	Civil	2	exposição
8	documentos	4	17h30	2	geografia
8	Principal	4	nobre	2	eficiente
8	Madureira	4	gerar	2	funcionar
8	tentativa	4	visão	2	direciona
8	continuam	4	total	2	hipócrita
8	confronto	4	falou	2	Ouvidoria
8	blindado	4	caras	2	Orquestra
8	entender	4	bosta	2	maquiagem

8	imprensa	4	Lucas	2	cotidiana
8	Nacional	4	Dizem	2	frequente
8	cidadãos	4	passo	2	audiência
8	processo	4	invés	2	sanguíneo
8	passando	4	padre	2	Abençoado
8	segundo	4	posto	2	especiais
8	sabemos	4	grave	2	delegada
8	tanques	4	ritmo	2	daqueles
8	escolas	4	raiva	2	Mantenha
8	mostrar	4	Terra	2	Leonardo
8	grandes	4	pleno	2	nacional
8	difícil	4	sejam	2	desastre
8	dizendo	4	carne	2	Primeiro
8	falando	4	Luiza	2	Carteira
8	relação	4	Santa	2	difíceis
8	matéria	4	sexta	2	buscando
8	tiveram	4	André	2	bastasse
8	comoção	4	chama	2	granadas
8	Europa	4	frase	2	filmaram
8	amanhã	4	Odilo	2	Divórcio
8	alunos	4	Banda	2	perigoso
8	chegam	4	Essas	2	cachorro
8	manter	4	lindo	2	baixinho
8	demais	4	Tarde	2	questões
8	Renato	4	rolou	2	negócios
8	países	4	molho	2	circular
8	acordo	4	aonde	2	coletivo
8	locais	4	Ponto	2	postagem
8	dessas	4	digam	2	PINHEIRO
8	Noite	4	forte	2	responde
8	lazer	4	enfim	2	gratidão
8	fuzil	4	golpe	2	tratados
8	serem	4	Fórum	2	Produção
8	porra	4	achei	2	Endereço
8	corre	4	prova	2	desumano
8	baixo	4	levam	2	fardados
8	Cunha	4	nimo	2	precisão
8	kombi	4	ISSO	2	imaginar
8	passa	4	pras	2	deslocar
8	cinco	4	Aham	2	rasgando
8	porém	4	lama	2	medieval
8	morto	4	cria	2	inimigos
8	grana	4	moto	2	explicar

8	Temos	4	Lona	2	deixarem
8	tensa	4	pera	2	realizou
8	havia	4	trás	2	pinheiro
8	porta	4	ódio	2	estadual
8	Muita	4	fase	2	respeita
8	Arena	4	vier	2	exterior
8	terra	4	Onze	2	Controle
8	texto	4	rumo	2	política
8	geral	4	vias	2	revirado
8	deixa	4	nois	2	uniforme
8	única	4	tamo	2	calçadas
8	áreas	4	faca	2	sentindo
8	casos	4	juiz	2	aconteça
8	reais	4	ruim	2	Mensagem
8	mata	4	Paes	2	PERDIDOS
8	arma	4	reto	2	absoluta
8	Rede	4	foco	2	certidão
8	dele	4	Foto	2	Política
8	chão	4	mães	2	seguinte
8	anda	4	rola	2	Remoções
8	cedo	4	Nada	2	ajudaram
8	leve	4	Amém	2	queimar
8	zona	4	mico	2	Altamir
8	Vai	4	Luiz	2	voltava
8	mil	4	paga	2	estejam
8	sei	4	Tamo	2	bermuda
8	fiz	4	cadê	2	falamos
8	lei	4	saiu	2	constar
8	Até	4	dano	2	Mariana
8	rá	4	Baia	2	descaso
8	vê	4	Cruz	2	Mandela
8	né	4	cano	2	tamanha
7	comentários	4	pede	2	emitido
7	governantes	4	meia	2	manobra
7	sexta-feira	4	dado	2	costume
7	fundamental	4	saco	2	Imagens
7	familiares	4	Esta	2	cardeal
7	>>>	4	pior	2	pedaços
7	sentimento	4	site	2	entanto
7	<<<	4	link	2	acusava
7	caminhada	4	sin	2	Coroado
7	blindados	4	pão	2	últimas
7	políticos	4	Sei	2	evoluir

7	populares	4	dor	2	ficando
7	apreensão	4	Ato	2	alegria
7	qualidade	4	Num	2	CDDVive
7	realmente	4	Art	2	tirando
7	vizinhos	4	inf	2	fizemos
7	opressão	4	dez	2	assalto
7	Operação	4	was	2	playboy
7	dezembro	4	RUA	2	Diretor
7	registro	4	Sua	2	Samarco
7	carteira	4	Nem	2	procede
7	novembro	4	pau	2	medidas
7	passaram	4	ira	2	escrito
7	oprimido	4	11h	2	afirmam
7	soldados	4	Dai	2	seguida
7	Queremos	4	nia	2	residiu
7	Obrigado	4	áA	2	descida
7	Seguimos	4	Lá	2	Sampaio
7	Exército	4	Dá	2	gatilho
7	Olímpica	3	posteriormen te	2	apertam
7	diversos	3	experimenta ndo	2	botaram
7	Coletivo	3	compartilhar am	2	Creches
7	pequena	3	participantes	2	divisão
7	memória	3	representaçã o	2	pegando
7	asfalto	3	manifestaçõe s	2	Vambora
7	Avenida	3	desenvolven do	2	atitude
7	celular	3	Evangelística	2	milícia
7	feriado	3	internacional	2	cumprem
7	cenário	3	irresponsável	2	batatas
7	Horário	3	tranquilidade	2	ACHADOS
7	questão	3	violentament e	2	iniciou
7	vontade	3	adolescentes	2	resiste
7	comando	3	Constituição	2	calibre
7	pedindo	3	funcionários	2	montada
7	preciso	3	estatísticas	2	usando
7	colocar	3	Universidade	2	feijão
7	empresa	3	experiências	2	cheiro
7	armados	3	procediment	2	perfil

o					
7	tráfico	3	restaurantes	2	12:30h
7	opinião	3	alternativas	2	peitar
7	humanos	3	especialista	2	amigas
7	souber	3	criminalizar	2	brinde
7	classe	3	consideração	2	saibam
7	menino	3	contradição	2	batido
7	menina	3	perspectiva	2	missão
7	acabar	3	organização	2	Fundão
7	metros	3	auto-estima	2	Lembro
7	Teatro	3	territórios	2	largar
7	relato	3	bombardeios	2	debate
7	cabeça	3	Comunicade	2	terras
s					
7	nessas	3	terroristas	2	BARROS
7	tenham	3	prostitutas	2	cansam
7	desses	3	transformar	2	vistas
7	Forças	3	malandrage	2	errada
m					
7	rá...é	3	encontravam	2	Cantar
7	dúvida	3	insegurança	2	vivido
7	textos	3	comerciante	2	lançar
7	começa	3	Jornalistas	2	15:30h
7	quiser	3	assassinado	2	16:30h
7	Palace	3	jornalistas	2	Motivo
7	morrem	3	democrática	2	Semana
7	fiquei	3	assistência	2	mesmos
7	quanto	3	democrático	2	filmes
7	forças	3	Atualização	2	jogada
7	Vargas	3	aconteceram	2	17:30h
7	balas	3	preocupação	2	Ensino
7	nesta	3	perguntando	2	soltos
7	Ontem	3	acreditamos	2	Vacina
7	houve	3	compartilhe	2	Buenos
7	meses	3	irregulares	2	Jovens
7	andar	3	instalações	2	FILHOS
7	chuva	3	realizadas	2	Grande
7	homem	3	compositor	2	Lisboa
7	dizem	3	ambientais	2	inciso
7	filme	3	Secretário	2	Triste
7	sabia	3	aguardando	2	pagina
7	gosta	3	criminosos	2	praças
7	ficou	3	reclamando	2	quadra

7	digna	3	manifestar	2	Faetec
7	Bahia	3	velocidade	2	montou
7	ações	3	refugiados	2	edição
7	bonde	3	Repudiamos	2	bilhão
7	longe	3	registrado	2	famoso
7	pobre	3	encontrada	2	postes
7	rolar	3	Tiradentes	2	chumbo
7	fatos	3	localizada	2	frango
7	velha	3	brasileiro	2	assada
7	Kombi	3	sobreviver	2	sermos
7	vale	3	capacidade	2	perdeu
7	Será	3	justamente	2	música
7	post	3	brasileira	2	Equipe
7	alma	3	participam	2	morava
7	vejo	3	suficiente	2	troco
7	mara	3	Manguinhos	2	matou
7	tava	3	quantidade	2	casal
7	dono	3	estudantes	2	Maria
7	Roda	3	proveitem	2	milho
7	pena	3	provisória	2	Ponte
7	dela	3	jornalismo	2	ótimo
7	vou	3	Associação	2	deixe
7	sol	3	disposição	2	apoia
7	voz	3	motoristas	2	cópia
7	mim	3	pacificada	2	ndalo
7	áO	3	exploração	2	março
7	fé	3	convidados	2	natal
6	responsabilida de	3	encontrava	2	meios
6	provavelment e	3	realizaram	2	Filme
6	possibilidade	3	humilhação	2	delas
6	manifestação	3	informaram	2	missa
6	quinta-feira	3	passarelas	2	NATAL
6	conseguiram	3	conhecemos	2	Cluny
6	importantes	3	fechamento	2	noção
6	professores	3	destruída	2	Ordem
6	trabalhador	3	ignorante	2	Penha
6	Centenário	3	dirigindo	2	LUIZA
6	informados	3	responder	2	fogem
6	precisando	3	mobilizar	2	marca
6	Biblioteca	3	cidadania	2	saiba
6	atividades	3	registrar	2	Vitor

6	totalmente	3	respondeu	2	porco
6	prefeitura	3	Conceição	2	ÄúDia
6	residência	3	Casamento	2	vagas
6	Recebemos	3	deputados	2	Aires
6	Pontilhão	3	agressões	2	Neste
6	conseguir	3	bicicleta	2	Largo
6	liberdade	3	quadrilha	2	dente
6	novamente	3	participa	2	terão
6	diferente	3	esperando	2	Redes
6	conflitos	3	agradecer	2	Choro
6	tranquilo	3	Companhia	2	cores
6	encontrar	3	oprimidos	2	temer
6	periferia	3	Lembrando	2	honra
6	paradeiro	3	primeiros	2	atuam
6	jiu-jitsu	3	internado	2	velho
6	inclusive	3	entendida	2	Light
6	Segurança	3	colaboram	2	amiga
6	discussão	3	toneladas	2	jatos
6	realizada	3	larguinho	2	Pega
6	Direitos	3	moradoras	2	Nota
6	Caveirão	3	Ecológico	2	moça
6	agradece	3	Resultado	2	BOAL
6	querendo	3	utilizado	2	rosa
6	discurso	3	informada	2	dera
6	Educação	3	Juventude	2	toca
6	informem	3	ocorrendo	2	rios
6	objetivo	3	anonimato	2	loco
6	tragédia	3	fuzilados	2	gude
6	complexo	3	expressão	2	nica
6	reflexão	3	Passarela	2	pipa
6	procurar	3	esquecida	2	VILA
6	encontra	3	esperamos	2	bota
6	Moradora	3	possíveis	2	rabo
6	político	3	corrupção	2	vila
6	machismo	3	tragédias	2	nico
6	chegando	3	situações	2	bola
6	Relatos	3	adicionar	2	Ciep
6	ouvidos	3	diversas	2	ncer
6	mudança	3	oficinas	2	leis
6	próprio	3	setembro	2	HCII
6	agentes	3	completo	2	Toré
6	notícia	3	vergonha	2	lava
6	pequeno	3	causados	2	EUA

6	maconha	3	levantar	2	CPF
6	convida	3	trabalha	2	14h
6	Atenção	3	voltamos	2	Dim
6	Ipanema	3	públicos	2	aço
6	aumento	3	Infantil	2	how
6	próxima	3	pistolas	2	vcs
6	absurdo	3	sensação	2	Dom
6	baleada	3	morrendo	2	B-9
6	relógio	3	cordeiro	2	gan
6	conhece	3	famílias	2	org
6	rodando	3	incomoda	2	seo
6	querida	3	filmando	2	Ate
6	relatam	3	deixamos	2	Deu
6	soldado	3	garantia	2	Tão
6	dirigiu	3	Certidão	2	tim
6	poderia	3	completa	2	Tua
6	imagina	3	entrando	2	cai
6	Império	3	Comissão	2	más
6	Marcha	3	condição	2	Rei
6	tensão	3	investir		
3	bastante	3	européus		

